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**Preposition Typology with Manner of Motion Verbs
in Spanish**

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**Preposition Typology with Manner of Motion Verbs
in Spanish**

by

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THESIS

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I dedicate this Master's thesis to my parents, my sister, and my fiancé for
their constant support, encouragement, faith, patience, and
unconditional love.

“WHERE WE LOVE IS HOME—
HOME THAT OUR FEET MAY LEAVE,
BUT NOT OUR HEARTS.”
— Oliver Wendell Holmes

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Preposition Typology with Manner of Motion Verbs in Spanish

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

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Spanish, as a *V(erb)-framed language* (Talmy 1985), is expected to lexicalize the path of motion in the verb and manner in some satellite when it comes to the description of motion events. Nonetheless, it shows mixed properties (e.g. Aske 1989, Berman & Slobin 1994). All manner of motion verbs can take a path satellite introduced by the prepositions *hacia* and *hasta*, and yet only some can take a path satellite introduced by the preposition *a*. I claim that goal XPs introduced by *hasta* and *hacia* are adjuncts, whereas *a* is an argument marker. In order to capture the intermediacy of a verb's ability to take a goal XP, I classify manner of motion verbs according to a three-way distinction that takes into account whether they encode path categorically, overwhelmingly, or only sometimes, and whether they lexically reject the notion of a goal. Finally, I posit verb coercion—under certain semantic and pragmatic conditions—of manner of motion verbs that strongly or categorically favor displacement in order to express a goal. These semantic/pragmatic influential factors are reduced to (i) degree of manner and (ii) degree of goal-orientedness.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study intends to contribute to the understanding of descriptions of motion events, which has been widely debated in the field of linguistics since it was first introduced by Talmy (e.g. 1975, 1985). According to Talmy (2000), languages can be divided into two main classes depending on how they lexicalize the aspects of motion in their verb roots. On the one hand, *V(erb)-framed languages*—e.g. Romance languages—lexicalize the path of motion in the verb and manner in some satellite or adverbial phrase, as in (1a). By contrast, *S(atellite)-framed languages*—e.g. Germanic languages—lexicalize the manner of motion in the verb and path in some satellite to the verb, as in (1b).

- (1) a. *La chica cruzó la piscina (**nadando**).*
The girl crossed the pool swimming
‘The girl crossed the pool (swimming).’
b. The girl **swam** to the other side of the pool.

However, many languages allow both types of encoding (e.g. Aske 1989, Berman & Slobin 1994, Martínez-Vázquez 2001, Beavers 2008, Fábregas 2007, Beavers *et al.* 2010, Pedersen 2010), as shown in the semantically equivalent examples in (2) in comparison with the examples in (1):¹

¹Leaving emphasis-based reasons aside: I think speakers may sometimes choose one strategy over the other one depending on whether the focus wants to be placed on the manner or path of the motion event.

- (2) a. *La chica nadó al otro lado de la piscina.*
 The girl swam at.the other side of the pool
 ‘The girl swam to the other side of the pool.’
 b. The girl crossed the pool (**swimming**).²

An example of S-framed encoding by a V-framed language is represented in (2a) because a goal XP is a common type of a path satellite (e.g. an English *to*-phrase as in *he swam to the shore*: Beavers *et al.*, 2010). By contrast, (2b) constitutes an example of V-framed encoding by an S-framed language, considering that a manner of motion verb—a verb that encodes manner of motion—in the gerund form is a type of manner satellite (e.g. *swimming*) (Talmy 1985). Therefore, this is evidence against the Talmyan binary typology of verb roots in the domain of motion events.

Nonetheless, the data that go against the Talmyan binary typology are not easily predictable. In Spanish—a V-framed language—only sometimes may the same manner of motion verb be used as in an S-framed language. In the following example, the same manner of motion verb as in (2a)—*nadar* ‘swim’—occurs with a different goal XP resulting in a change in its acceptability:

- (3) ?? *La chica nadó a la barca en medio del mar.*
 The girl swam at the boat in middle of.the sea
 ‘The girl swam to the boat in the middle of the sea.’

Furthermore, not all manner of motion verbs in Spanish allow for a goal phrase introduced by *a* at all. For example, observe the following contrastive pair in

²According to my informants, even though (1b) in English seems more natural and, thus, preferable, (2b) is also acceptable and possible, though less natural.

(4) with the Spanish manner of motion verb *bailar* ‘dance’, where (4a) expresses manner in the form of a satellite and (4b) takes a goal XP complement as a satellite, only the former being grammatically acceptable:

- (4) a. *La chica cruzó la habitación (bailando).*
 The girl crossed the room dancing
 ‘The girl crossed the room dancing.’
- b. **La chica bailó al otro lado de la habitación.*
 The girl danced at the other side of the room
 ‘The girl danced to the other side of the room.’

In fact, to the best of my knowledge, no *a*-PP will ever work with the manner of motion verb *bailar*. However, the example in (4b) in turn contrasts with (5), where different prepositions—i.e. *hacia* ‘towards’ or *hasta* ‘until’—introduce the goal XP, as noticed in Aske (1989), Martínez-Vázquez (2001), Fábregas (2007), and Beavers *et al* (2010), among others, resulting in fully grammatical sentences.

- (5) a. *La chica bailó hacia el otro lado de la habitación.*
 The girl danced towards the other side of the room
 ‘The girl danced towards the other side of the room.’
- b. *La chica bailó hasta el otro lado de la habitación.*
 The girl danced until the other side of the room
 ‘The girl danced up to/as far as the other side of the room.’

Thus, the acceptability of the *a*-phrase depends on a range of factors, at least, verb choice and choice of ground. This contrasts with *hacia* and *hasta*, which are much less restrictive and can certainly occur with many of the verbs and grounds that *a* cannot. As it turns out, the acceptability of directional readings introduced by an *a*-phrase in the context of a manner of motion verb in

Spanish may only arise if “specific” pragmatic and lexical semantic support is available for a path interpretation, as suggested for directional readings of locative phrases in other languages in Cummins (1996), Nikitina (2008), Beavers *et al.* (2010) and Tham *et al.* (2012). Consequently, there seems to be variation on how goal is encoded in Spanish. I will offer here an analysis that captures the difference in acceptability of goal phrases by taking into account the nature of the prepositional phrases and of the verb type used, as well as context variability.

In particular, the current thesis is centered around three crucial questions:

- i. What is the difference in nature of *a/hacia/hasta* with manner of motion verbs?
- ii. How can motion verbs be classified in order to capture the variation in their ability to take goal XPs? Is there an identifiable set that allows *a*-phrases and others not?
- iii. What semantic and pragmatic variables trigger or disfavor an *a*-goal XP?

I propose that goal XPs introduced by *hasta* and *hacia* are adjuncts and can add goal to any motion verb (Beavers 2008). Conversely, I claim that *a* is an argument marker instead and that only locative prepositions that may function as argument markers can introduce the goal argument of a motion predicate. I classify manner of motion verbs according to a three-way distinction that takes into account whether they encode path categorically, overwhelmingly, or only sometimes. This will allow for intermediacy with regard to *a*-acceptability. Finally, my approach allows for verb coercion—under certain

semantic and pragmatic conditions—of manner of motion verbs that strongly or categorically favor displacement in order to express goal like inherently directional verbs. These semantic/pragmatic influential factors are reduced to (i) degree of manner and (ii) degree of goal-orientedness. If lexically speaking the verb is not goal-resistant and the contextual conditions favor a low manner reading and/or the notion of a goal of a motion event, then the transition to a goal is facilitated, which enables *a*-marking the goal argument.

The organization of this thesis is as follows: in Chapter 2, I first review Fábregas' (2007) account—a recent advance—on manner of motion verbs in Spanish and raise the question of whether an analysis that relies on certain features being already lexicalized and introduced in the syntax suffices to capture such phenomenon in Spanish, contra Fábregas. In the next chapters, I will present evidence that such an analysis is problematic based on a series of inconsistencies: the argument vs. adjunct distinction of the goal phrases, the different semantics and distributions of each preposition, the lack of full predictability from the verb classification and the need for context and pragmatic variables. In particular, in Chapter 3, based on semantic and syntactic evidence, I demonstrate that only phrases introduced by *a* are complements, unlike phrases introduced by *hacia* and *hasta*, which are adjuncts. In Chapter 4, I examine the nature and distribution of *hacia*- and *hasta*-phrases that sheds light on their distinctive nature, only the former being inherently directional, whereas the latter marks delimitation. In Chapter 5, I discuss the unique status of goal phrases introduced by *a* and analyze their subtle differences from *hacia*- and *hasta*-phrases, and from other locative phrases in Spanish (*en* 'in' and *dentro* 'inside') in the context of motion constructions. In Chapter 6, I introduce my classification of manner of motion verbs that reproduces the Talmyan

typology but it also allows for intermediacy. Then, in Chapter 7, I first provide my semantic compositional analysis that assumes that the Talmyan typology is fundamentally correct and ties into the complementhood and adjuncthood distinction. Second, I posit verb-coercion through pragmatics for those cases that do not conform to Talmy, tying then back to the Talmyan typology but allowing for intermediacy among manner verbs. In Chapter 8, I show what lexical and contextual factors favor a path-type reading of a manner of motion verb, hence enabling verb-coercion. Finally, I support my analysis with a corpus study: Chapter 9 presents how the data were collected so as to analyze the classified verbs and the prepositions that these verbs may take to introduce goal XPs; it provides an overview of the results, and a discussion of the distributional patterns. My conclusions and findings are gathered in the last chapter, Chapter 10. All in all, this thesis provides a new perspective on different senses available to distinct prepositions that may have the appearance of being alternate ways of denoting the same ‘thing’ in directed motion events when certain syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic variables come into play.

Chapter 2

Background: The two-root-type & the two-prepositions approach of motion constructions in path languages

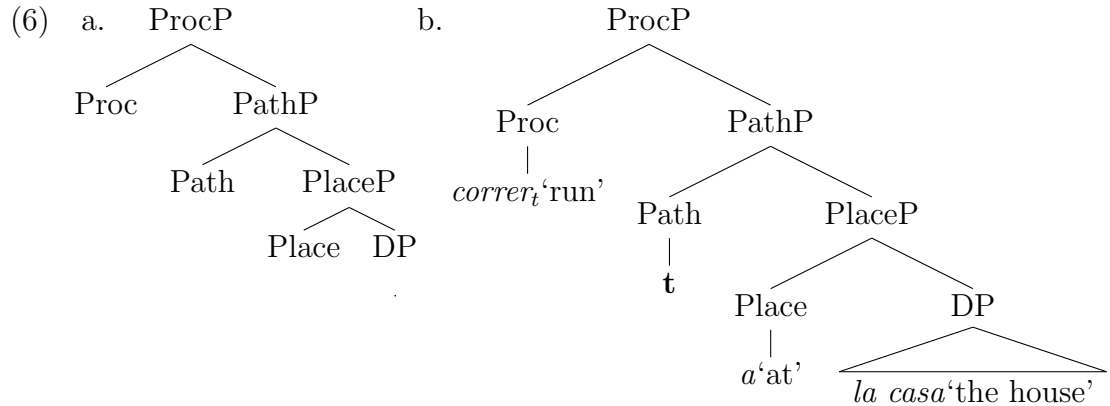
Aske (1989) analyzes path and manner encoding in Spanish vs. English and, though showing how in some instances Spanish can behave like an S-framed language, it attributes the basic difference between the two languages to the fact that Spanish does not seem to have path phrases that can predicate an end-state of the figure argument as a telic secondary non-verbal predicate (NVP), in line with the lack of resultative non-verbal predicates. Therefore, it follows that “the inability of Spanish to express path outside the verb is limited to telic path phrases” (Aske 1989: 11), thus allowing sentences with atelic path prepositions like *La botella flotó hacia la cueva* “The bottle floated towards the cave.” Nevertheless, this explanation leaves unanswered why *hasta*-phrases and sometimes *a*-phrases are also a possibility.

A recent advance on manner of motion verbs in Spanish and the prepositions with which these verbs can occur in order to express goal is Fábregas’s (2007) account. Fábregas follows a two-verb-type and a two-prepositions approach to capture the encoding of motion constructions in Spanish.¹ Fábregas

¹Prior to Fábregas’ (2007) account, Inagaki (2002) proposed a very similar analysis for the Japanese contrast between *-made* ‘until’ and *-ni* ‘to’ with Japanese manner of motion verbs.

(2007) assumes a syntactic approach that claims that the semantics of lexical items are represented in the syntax—following the First Phase Syntax account in Ramchands (2008)—and that every syntactic feature must be lexicalized by a lexical item, following the Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle (Fábregas 2007: 167). Furthermore, lexical items can be tagged in the lexicon as representative of more than one syntactic feature and when several lexical items compete for insertion in the very same syntactic configuration, the one that identifies the minimal superset of syntactic features is chosen (following The Superset Principle, Caha 2007). As a result, “only categories whose semantics is compatible can combine with each other” (Fábregas 2007: 184).

The relevant syntactic features for motion events are ‘Proc(ess)’, ‘Path’, and ‘Place.’ The syntactic structure of a motion event must have all three features in the syntactic configuration, as illustrated in (6):



In (6b), *correr* ‘run’ would be a type of verb that, besides the feature ‘Process’, also lexicalizes the feature ‘Path’, as indicated by the trace *t*. Finally, the feature ‘Place’ would be introduced in the syntactic configuration by the preposition *a*, resulting in a grammatical syntactic structure of a motion event because it contains all three features: <Proc>, <Path>, and <Place>.

This approach is based on two main components: (i) The Two-Root-Type Component, and (ii) The Two-Prepositions Component. As for the former, Morimoto (1998) and Fábregas (2007) note that there are two classes of manner of motion roots in Spanish: on the one hand, roots that do not denote displacement (e.g. *flotar* ‘float’) and, on the other hand, roots that indicate some sort of dislocation of the subject (e.g. *volar* ‘fly’). Fábregas (2007) argues that verbs that cannot denote displacement lexicalize only the feature ‘Proc(ess)’, whereas verbs that can indicate dislocation lexicalize the feature ‘Path’ as well as the feature ‘Proc.’ With this distinction in mind, Fábregas’ (2007) classification of manner of motion verbs is given in (7):

- (7) a. <Proc> verbs: *flotar* ‘float’, *temblar* ‘shiver’, *bailar* ‘dance’, *tropezar* ‘trip’, *cojear* ‘limp’, and *gatear* ‘crawl.’
 b. <Proc, Path> verbs: *volar* ‘fly’, *correr* ‘run’, *caminar* ‘walk’, *deslizarse* ‘slide.’

[Adapted from Fábregas (2007): 185 (40-41)]

Furthermore, Fábregas (2007) proposes that there are two classes of prepositions that may combine with manner of motion verbs in Spanish: on the one hand, prepositions that encode only the feature ‘Place’ and, on the other hand, prepositions that encode the feature ‘Place’ as well as the feature ‘Path’:

- (8) a. <Place> prepositions: *a* ‘at.’
 b. <Place, Path> prepositions: *hacia* ‘towards’, *hasta* ‘until.’

[Adapted from Fábregas (2007): 188 (50)]

As shown in (8), the Spanish preposition *a*—roughly equivalent to English ‘at’ (Aske 1989, Fábregas 2007)—is regarded only as a locative preposition and,

thus, can only be tagged as <Place>. By contrast, under this analysis, *hacia* and *hasta* are considered both path and locative prepositions.

Considering which features these verbs and prepositions may lexicalize and the claim that a complete directed motion event requires the three features <Proc>, <Path>, <Place> in order to conform to Talmy's (1985, 2000) typology, we can then derive possible combinations of lexical items. Those prepositions that lexicalize the features <Path> and <Place> can combine with <Proc, Path>verbs as well as <Proc>verbs (Fábregas 2007), as illustrated in both grammatical examples in (9):

- (9) a. *Juan nadó*_{<Proc, Path>} *hacia/hasta*_{<Path, Place>} *la cueva*.
 Juan swam at the cave
 ‘Juan swam to the cave.’ [Adapted from Fábregas (2007): 172
 (11a)]
- b. *Juan flotó*_{<Proc>} *hacia/hasta*_{<Path, Place>} *la cueva*.
 Juan floated towards/until the cave
 ‘Juan floated towards/up to the cave.’

On the other hand, those prepositions that only lexicalize the feature <Place> can only combine with verbs that lexicalize <Path> in addition to <Proc> (Fábregas 2007), since otherwise the feature <Path> will not be lexicalized in the syntactic configuration, as shown in (10):

- (10) a. *Juan corrió*_{<Proc, Path>} *al*_{<Place>} *sótano*.
 Juan ran at.the cellar
 ‘Juan ran to the cellar.’ [Adapted from Fábregas (2007): 172
 (11a)]

- b. ?? *La botella **flotó**<Proc> a<Place> la cueva.*
 the bottle floated at the cave
 ‘The bottle floated to the cave.’

[Adapted from Beavers *et al.* (2010): 24 (26)]

Therefore, such an analysis is based on the fact that whenever <Path> can be inserted in the syntactic configuration by either the verb or the preposition, then the construction enables a manner of motion verb to take an *a/hacia/hasta*-goal XP. Furthermore, it assumes complementhood as the mechanism that puts the lexical items together: a ProcP takes as a complement a PathP, which, in its turn, takes as a complement a PlaceP (Fábregas 2007).

However, I believe this analysis to be problematic for a series of assumptions: it assumes that (i) directionals introduced by *a*, *hasta* and *hacia* are in complementary distribution and have the same grammatical relations; (ii) a unified treatment of *hacia* and *hasta* as almost synonymous, which fails to account for semantic differences, and (iii) no account for contextual variation. The notion of complementhood will be argued against in the next chapter. Other inconsistencies will also be addressed in the remaining of the thesis.

Chapter 3

Goal Adjuncts vs. Complements

A first question to ask is whether the goal phrases are complements or adjuncts. Some recent analyses treat directional *a/hacia/hasta*-phrases in Spanish as either all complements (e.g. Fábregas 2007) or all adjuncts (e.g. Zubizarreta & Oh 2007). I demonstrate that both views lack in substantial nuance since they fail to capture their syntactic and semantic distributions. I propose that phrases introduced by *hacia/hasta* are adjuncts and not complements, contra Fábregas (2007). However, in contrast to Zubizarreta and Oh (2007), I posit that directionals introduced by *a* are indeed complements, but not adjuncts, on the basis of semantic and syntactic evidence.

As for semantic evidence, directional phrases introduced by *a* are more contingent on the semantic/syntactic properties of the verb itself and, thus, blocked in certain environments, as was seen with the incompatibility of the verb *bailar* ‘to dance’ with *a* in (4b). This suggests that they are complements because they present a more restricted use depending on the verb choice. By contrast, directional/goal phrases introduced by *hacia/hasta* can more freely attach to a verb predicate, as it would be expected from adjuncts, thus presenting no restrictions whatsoever based upon the manner of motion verb choice, as suggested by the acceptability of *hacia/hasta* with verbs like *bailar* ‘to dance’, which reject the use of *a*. Therefore, this behavior hints at conceiving *hacia/hasta*-phrases as adjuncts, which will be supported by the syntactic

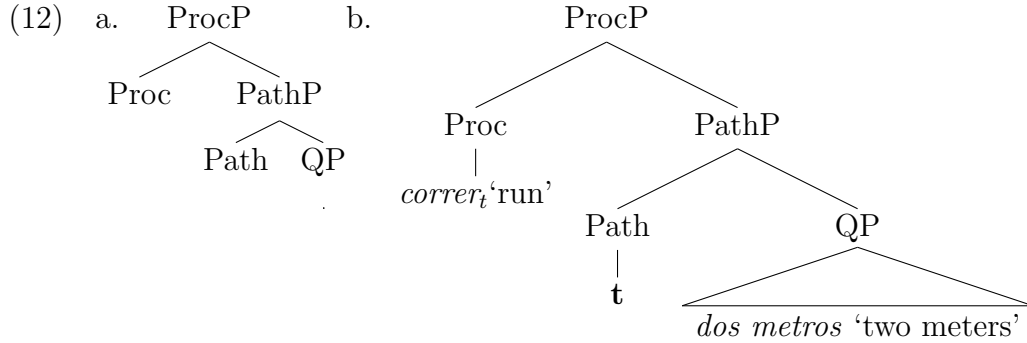
tests below.

With regard to tests of complementhood vs. adjuncthood, a standard test to distinguish adjuncts from arguments is by using the verbal proform *lo hace* in Spanish ('do so' in English): adjuncts can be stranded by *lo hace*, whereas arguments cannot (Fábregas 2007). This being said, observe the data in (11), where *hacia/hasta*-phrases can be stranded by *lo hace* (as in (11a)), but not *a*-phrases (as in (11b)):

- (11) a. *Juan corrió hacia/hasta el sótano, y María lo hizo*
Juan ran towards/until the cellar, and María it did
hacia/hasta el jardín.
towards/until the garden
'Juan ran towards/up to the cellar, and María did so towards/up
to the garden.'
- b. *Juan corrió al sótano, y *María lo hizo al jardín.*
Juan ran at.the cellar, and María it did at.the garden
'Juan ran to the cellar, and María did so to the garden.'
- [Modified from Fábregas (2007): 172 (11)]

Therefore, (11) suggests that not all goal XPs are complements. In particular, only the ones introduced by the preposition *a* may be considered as complements.

Another standard test has to do with 'proximity to the head' of the *a-hacia-hasta*-phrase: adjuncts can occur further away from the head than complements (Schutze 1995). In Spanish, as argued in Morimoto (2001) and Fábregas (2007), some movement verbs can take a QP (quantifier phrase) complement of PathP to indicate the path length, as shown in (12).



The analysis in (12) predicts that the quantifier phrase, analyzed as a complement of PathP, cannot co-occur with a PlaceP complement because they both compete for the same position in the structure. Hence, under Fábregas (2007) proposal, no goal XPs that are inserted in the structure as complements of PathP (i.e. *a-/hacia-/hasta-* XPs) would be able to co-occur with the QP complement. However, this prediction is not borne out, as suggested in (13), where we see that the *hacia-hasta*-phrase can follow the QP complement:

- (13) a. *Juan corrió dos metros **hacia/hasta** su casa.*
 Juan ran two meters towards/until his house
 ‘Juan ran two meters towards/up to his house.’
- b. ? *Juan corrió **hacia/hasta** su casa dos metros.*
 Juan ran towards/until his house two meters
 ‘Juan ran two meters towards/up to his house.’
- c. ?? *Juan corrió dos metros **a** su casa.*
 Juan ran two meters at his house
 ‘Juan ran two meters to his house.’
- d. ?? *Juan corrió **a** su casa dos metros.*
 Juan ran at his house two meters
 ‘Juan ran to his house to meters.’

Therefore, the fact that (13a) is perfectly fine—as opposed to (13b-d) that

would sound stilted—further supports that *hacia-hasta-a*-phrases do not have the same status. It furthermore suggests that *hacia-hasta*-goal phrases are more likely to be analyzed as adjuncts since they can occur further away from the head and can follow a QP complement (as in (13a)), unlike *a*-phrases or QP complements that need to occur close to the head, both competing for the same syntactic slot.

This difference in status is further corroborated by two additional tests: conjunction and iteration. As for the former, adjuncts can conjoin with other adjuncts and complements can conjoin with other complements, but complements typically cannot conjoin with adjuncts (Schutze 1995). If *hacia/hasta/a*-phrases all shared the same status, it would then be predicted that they can all conjoin with each other. However, this prediction is again not borne out. Note the following conjunctive combinations in (14):

- (14) a. *Juan corrió al sótano y/o a la tienda.*
 Juan ran at.the cellar and/or at the store
 ‘Juan ran to the cellar and/or to the store.’
- b. *Juan corrió hacia el sótano y/o hacia la tienda.*
 Juan ran towards the cellar and/or towards the store
 ‘Juan ran towards the cellar and/or towards the store.’
- c. *Juan corrió hacia el sótano y/o hasta la tienda.*
 Juan ran towards the cellar and/or until the store
 ‘Juan ran towards the cellar and/or up to the store.’
- d. ?? *Juan corrió hacia el sótano y/o a la tienda.*
 Juan ran towards the cellar and/or at the store
 ‘Juan ran towards the cellar and/or to the store.’

- e. ?? *Juan corrió **al** sótano **y/o** **hasta** la tienda.*
 Juan ran at.the cellar and/or until the store
 ‘Juan ran to the cellar and/or up to the store.’

The data in (14) suggests that (14a-c) conjoin phrases of the same status. By contrast, (14d-e) would be conjoining phrases of different nature (*a* with *hacia*, and *a* with *hasta*), a reason why the latter sound unnatural.

Finally, adjuncts but not complements can be iterated (Schutze 1995). Hence, observe the data in (15), where *hacia-hasta*-phrases can be iterated (as in (15a)), but not *a*-phrases (as in (15b)):

- (15) a. *Juan corrió **hacia** la casa, **hacia** la habitación,*
 Juan ran towards the house, towards the room
***hacia** el sótano.*
 towards the cellar
 ‘Juan ran towards the house, and then towards the room, and then up to the cellar.’
- b. ?? *Juan corrió **a** la casa, **a** la habitación, **al** sótano.*
 Juan ran at the house, at the room at.the cellar
 ‘Juan ran to the house, and then to the room, and then to the cellar.’

Thus, (15) constitutes further evidence that *hacia/hasta* introduces adjuncts and *a* behaves more like an argument marker.

In light of the data above, it can finally be concluded that *hacia*, *hasta* and *a* do not have the same status, contra accounts like Fábregas (2007) and Zubizarreta & Oh (2007). The data suggest that goal phrases introduced by *a* are arguments, as opposed to phrases introduced by *hacia/hasta*, which would

behave as adjuncts. I will rely on this complementhood vs. adjuncthood distinction later for distributional purposes in order to explain why *hacia/hasta*-phrases are more widespread and *a*-phrases more limited. Even though in terms of syntactic properties *hacia*- and *hasta*-phrases are grouped together, the different semantic characterizations of these phrases will be tackled in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Semantic Characterization of Adjunctive Ps: *hacia* vs. *hasta*

In this chapter I show that *hacia* and *hasta* are different in their semantics in the context of manner of motion verbs. For this, I discuss some data—old and new—that highlights subtle differences between *hasta* and *hacia* and suggests that their semantic truth conditions are not equivalent, thus not being interchangeable since they give rise to different goal meanings. I finally propose that even though *hacia* may be directional in nature, with no implication of arrival, *hasta* is a limit marker that obtains a directional meaning encoding goal in a motion construction (similar to *-made* in Japanese, see Beavers 2008).

To start with, as noticed in Fábregas (2007) and Beavers *et al.* (2010), *hasta* entails arrival (contra Aske 1989), unlike *hacia*, which introduces a directional complement that does not entail that the goal is attained. This is illustrated in (16):

- (16) a. # *La botella flotó **hasta** la cueva, pero no llegó (a la*
The bottle floated until the cave, but not arrived at the
cueva).
cave
'The bottle floated up to the cave, but never arrived.'

[Beavers *et al.* 2010: 24(27)]

- b. *La botella flotó **hacia** la cueva, pero no llegó (a la*
 The bottle floated towards the cave, but not arrived at the
cueva).
 cave
 ‘The bottle floated towards the cave, but never arrived.’

Hasta gives arrival, but, given that, is it actually marking a goal of the path *per se*? As suggested in Beavers (2008), *hasta* seems to have a more general function than just goal-marking. In particular, its main function is providing limits on some participant on the event, i.e. *hasta* indicates the boundary of the event. For example, it does this for time, as in (17a); numerals, as in (17b-c), and propositions, as in (17d).

(17) **Range of delimitation functions of *hasta*** (following Beavers 2008 for Japanese *-made*)

- a. *Juan correrá hasta mañana. (temporal)*
 Juan will.run until tomorrow
 ‘Juan will run until tomorrow.’
- b. *Juan correrá hasta tres metros. (spatial numeral)*
 Juan will.run until three meters
 ‘Juan will run up to three meters.’
- c. *En este ascensor caben hasta cuatro personas.*
 in this elevator fit until four people
(non-spatial numeral)
 ‘This elevator can fit up to four people.’
- d. *No podré continuar hasta que tú termines.*
 not will.be.able.to continue until that you finish
(propositional)
 ‘I won’t be able to continue until you finish.’

As shown in (17), *hasta* presents a wide range of delimitation functions. The confusion of *hasta* as a goal-marker arises in the context of motion, where *hasta* may delimit space, giving rise to a goal interpretation from context, as illustrated in (18):

- (18) *Juan correrá hasta la casa.* (**spatial non-numeral**)
 Juan will.run until the house
 ‘Juan will run up to the house.’

Consequently, the MOTION+GOAL_{*hasta*} reading only arises in the context of a motion event when *hasta* delimits region/space, suggesting that *hasta* acts as a general delimit-PP that may mark the limit of a path within a motion construction.

Unlike *hasta*—which has a more general delimitation use and may modify predicates that do not have a path, as seen in (17a-d)—*hacia* can only modify dynamic predicates that denote motion allowing a path.¹ For this, note the contrast in (19), where *hasta* can modify the predicate headed by the verb *toser* ‘cough’, which never has a path, and yet *hacia* cannot under the intended reading:²

¹There is a different type of preposition *hacia* that would have a different meaning (like ‘around’), to be distinguished from this inherently directional preposition *hacia*. E.g. *Hacia las tres de la tarde comí*, meaning ‘I ate around three in the afternoon.’ Also, there is a different use of *hacia* used to indicate orientation. E.g. *La ventana mira hacia el mar*, meaning ‘the window is positioned towards the sea.’

²Here and in the remainder of the thesis, whenever a context is given, the acceptability judgements are relative to the given context.

(19) [In the sense of moving towards the door while coughing]

- a. *Juan tosió **hasta** la puerta.*
Juan coughed until the door
'Juan coughed up to the door.'
- b. # *Juan tosió **hacia** la puerta.*
Juan coughed towards the door
'Juan coughed towards the door.'

Another contrast between *hasta* and *hacia*, which leads to different truth conditions, has to do with the fact that *hasta*, but not *hacia*, requires picking out the largest event compatible with what it modifies, as illustrated in (20):

(20) [Juan starts on the first floor. Juan goes up the stairs and gets to the fourth floor of a ten story building]

- a. *Juan subió **hacia** el cuarto piso.*
Juan went.up towards the fourth floor
'Juan went up towards the fourth floor.'
- b. *Juan subió **hasta** el cuarto piso.*
Juan went.up until the fourth floor
'Juan went up (as far as) to the fourth floor.'
- c. *Juan subió **hacia** el segundo piso.*
Juan went.up towards the second floor
'Juan went up towards the second floor.'
- d. # *Juan subió **hasta** el segundo piso.*
Juan went.up until the second floor
'Juan went up (as far as) to the second floor.'

In (20), the event of going up the stairs from the first floor to the fourth floor is composed by a series of smaller ordered subevents: going up from the first to the second floor, going up from the second to the third floor, and going up

from the third to the fourth floor. *Hasta* must modify the largest event: i.e. going up from the first to the fourth floor, as shown by the felicitous example in (20b) within the context given in contrast to the infelicitous example for such a context in (20d). On the other hand, *hacia* may select any subevent compatible with what it modifies, as illustrated by the felicitous examples (20a) and (20c).

However, note that if we recontextualize the largest event by restricting the context to the different subevents specifically, then acceptability changes in that *hasta* can now modify the smaller subevents, provided that context will finally tell us the largest event:

(21) [Juan starts on the first floor. Juan goes up the stairs and gets to the fourth floor of a ten story building]

- a. *Juan subió **hasta** el segundo piso, y **hasta** el tercer piso y **hasta** el cuarto piso.*
 Juan went.up until the second floor, and until the third floor, and until the fourth floor
 ‘Juan went up (as far as) to the second floor, and up to the third floor, and up to the fourth floor.’
- b. *Juan subió **hacia** el segundo piso, y **hacia** el tercer piso y **hacia** el cuarto piso.*
 Juan went.up towards the second floor, and towards the third floor, and towards the fourth floor
 ‘Juan went up towards the second floor, and towards the third floor, and towards the fourth floor.’

Example (21) along with (20) constitute a contrastive set of examples that illustrate how context and pragmatics can play a crucial role in determining acceptability of a preposition to mark the goal XP in a language. I will

talk about one further condition of *hasta* in Chapter 8: effort; but this is not encoded lexically, unlike the other characteristics introduced here.³

In sum, this chapter has shown how the semantics of *hacia* and the semantics of *hasta* are different, even though both of them function as adjuncts in motion verb constructions. If we were to maintain Fábregas’s featural approach, *hacia* would be the only preposition inherently directional and, hence, tagged perhaps as <Direction>. Unlike *hasta*, *hacia* only modifies predicates that have a path, since among dynamic predicates it only occurs with motion verbs. On the other hand, *hasta* would neither encode <Path> nor <Place>, but instead would perhaps be tagged as <Limit>, thus functioning as a general delimit PP, and would finally receive a *path* interpretation from context: i.e. when modifying a motion construction and delimiting region/space. Unlike *hacia*, *hasta* requires picking out the largest event compatible with what it modifies. Next, I focus on the semantic characterization of the argument marker *a* in motion constructions.

³Another contrast in behavior between *hacia* and *hasta* outside the scope of this thesis but worth noting has to do with aspect: goal adjuncts introduced by *hasta* generally modify a perfective predicate, whereas goal adjuncts introduced by *hacia* can modify both perfective and imperfective predicates, as illustrated in (21’):

- (21’) a. ?? *María flotaba hasta la orilla.*
 María floated.IMP until the shore
 ‘María was floating up to the shore.’
 b. *María flotó hasta la orilla.*
 María floated.PERF until the shore
 ‘María floated up to the shore.’
 c. *María flotaba/flotó hacia la orilla.*
 María floated.IMP/floated.PERF towards the shore
 ‘María was floating/floated towards the shore.’

Chapter 5

Semantic Characterization of Complement P:

a

In this chapter, I first present some semantic characteristics of *a* that make *a* unique in contrast to *hacia* and *hasta* in the context of a manner of motion verb. Next, I contrast *a*—which has historically been considered a locative preposition—to two other locative prepositions *en* ‘in’ and *dentro* ‘inside’ and tackle the question of which locative prepositions in Spanish may receive a directional interpretation.

According to Fábregas (2007), a locative preposition denotes the final point of a path. If we apply here the test ‘but never arrived’ (like for the cases of *hacia* and *hasta* in (16)), we see how *a* behaves very much like *hasta* implicating arrival, but unlike *hacia*:

- (22) # *Juan corrió a la cueva, pero no llegó (a la cueva).*
Juan ran to the cave, but not arrived at the cave
‘Juan ran to the cave, but never arrived.’

Therefore, a goal XP introduced by *a* requires arrival at a location, implicating that the goal has been reached, in this regard behaving similarly to *hasta*.

Nevertheless, unlike *hasta* (but like *hacia*), an event denoted by a manner of motion verb that takes an *a*-phrase as its goal argument is not contingent on context: i.e. a motion verb that takes *a* as an argument is free to select

whichever subevent of a larger event that it wants to describe and *a* realizes the goal of that event (i.e. the final point of the path described by the event), as illustrated below:

(23) [Juan is going up the stairs and gets to the fourth floor of a ten story building]

- a. *Juan subió **al** cuarto piso.*
 Juan went.up at.the fourth floor
 ‘Juan went up to the fourth floor.’
- b. *Juan subió **hasta** el cuarto piso.*
 Juan went.up until the fourth floor
 ‘Juan went up (as far as) to the second floor.’
- c. *Juan subió **al** segundo piso.*
 Juan went.up at.the second floor
 ‘Juan went up to the second floor.’
- d. # *Juan subió **hasta** el segundo piso.*
 Juan went.up until the second floor
 ‘Juan went up (as far as) to the second floor.’

Given the context in (23), the fact that (23c) turns out to be felicitous suggests that *a* can pick out a subevent of going from the first floor to the fourth floor. In this particular case, *a* introduces the subevent of going from the first to the second floor—this is unlike the use of *hasta*, which would give rise to different truth conditions, as explained in the previous chapter. Therefore, the examples in (22) and (23) are further evidence of the unique semantic characterization of *a*, distinct from both *hacia* and *hasta*.

Next, if we consider *a* as a historically locative preposition, another locative in Spanish comes into the picture: *en* ‘in.’ Interestingly, the locative

preposition *en* in Spanish does not allow directional readings, as illustrated in (24):

- (24) a. *El pájaro voló **a** su nido.*
 the bird flew at its nest
 ‘The bird flew to its nest.’ (only directional meaning possible)
- b. *El pájaro voló **en** su nido.*
 the bird flew in its nest
 ‘The bird flew inside its nest.’ (no directional meaning possible)
- [Fábregas 2007: 180-181 (31)]

In line with the claim that *a* is an argument marker, it may be that only locative prepositions that can serve as arguments can express final point of a path. The data below corroborates this hypothesis: it suggests that *en*-phrases would not be able to serve as arguments and should be typed as adjuncts instead, since they can be stranded by *lo hace* ‘do so’ (a standard adjunct vs. complement syntactic test that was introduced in Chapter 3), and *a*-phrases cannot.

- (25) a. *El pájaro voló **a** su nido, y el periquito *lo hizo **a** su jaula.*
 the bird flew at its nest, and the parakeet it did at its cage
 ‘The bird flew to its nest, and the parakeet did so to its cage.’
- b. *El pájaro voló **en** su nido y el periquito lo hizo **en** su jaula.*
 the bird flew in its nest, and the parakeet it did in its cage
 ‘The bird flew inside its nest, and the parakeet did so inside its cage.’

Another standard adjunct vs. complement test is iteration (adjuncts but not complements can be iterated) (Schutze 1995). This being said, observe the

data in (26), which shows that *en*-phrases can be iterated, thus suggesting that they are adjuncts:

- (26) a. ?? *El pájaro voló a su nido, a su jaula, a su casa.*
 the bird flew at its nest, at its cage, at its house
 ‘The bird flew to its nest, to its cage, to its house.’
 b. *El pájaro voló en su nido, en su jaula, en su casa.*
 the bird flew in its nest, in its cage, in its house
 ‘The bird flew inside its nest, inside its cage, inside its house.’

The evidence in (25) and (26) confirms the hypothesis that *en*-phrases would be functioning as adjuncts, as opposed to *a*-phrases.

This contrasts to yet another Spanish locative preposition, *dentro* ‘inside’, which can receive both interpretations in (24) (i.e. directional and non-directional), which would then need to be disambiguated from context.¹

- (27) a. [The bird is being chased by a bigger bird and flies into its nest to hide]
 El pájaro voló dentro su nido.
 the bird flew in its nest
 ‘The bird flew into its nest.’ (directional meaning derived from context)
 b. [The bird is already inside its nest and starts flying]
 El pájaro voló dentro su nido.
 the bird flew in its nest
 ‘The bird flew inside its nest.’ (no directional meaning derived from context)

¹A similar use has been noticed for French *dans* ‘in’ (for further discussion, see Pourcel & Kopecka 2006, and Beavers *et al.* 2010).

I predict that this ambiguity in (27) is because *dentro* could be takable as an argument, and thus act very much like *a*, but may also have an adjunctive use, and act then similarly to *en*. I demonstrate that the two types of *dentro* would lead to different complement vs. adjunct tests results once context has been disambiguated by using the *lo hace* test.

- (28) a. [The bird is being chased by a bigger bird and flies into its nest to hide]

*El pájaro voló dentro su nido, y *la ave lo hizo dentro su*
 the bird flew in its nest, and the fowl it did in its
cueva.
 cave

‘The bird flew into its nest and the fowl did so into its cave.’ (directional)

- b. [The bird is already inside its nest and starts flying]

El pájaro voló dentro su nido, y la ave lo hizo dentro su
 the bird flew in its nest, and the fowl it did in its
cueva.
 cave

‘The bird flew inside its nest and the fowl did so inside its cave.’
 (locative)

Our prediction is borne out in (28): only when *dentro* is takable as an argument (i.e. in (28a) since it does not pass the ‘do-so’ test), it receives a directional interpretation. By contrast, when *dentro* functions as an adjunct, as in (28b), it cannot acquire a directional reading. I assume that the same result would apply when using other complementhood vs. adjuncthood tests.

All in all, in this chapter I have shown the difference in the semantics of *a* from *hacia* and *hasta*, and even the difference in status of *a* from other

Spanish locative prepositions, such as *dentro* and *en*, when it comes to their interaction with motion-verb constructions. Preposition *a* would be takable as an argument, tagged only as <Place> in Fábregas’s featural system, and receive a goal interpretation.² In such a case, the *a*-marker implies that the goal has been attained, and it does not necessarily have to introduce the goal of the largest event in context. Unlike other locative markers in Spanish—e.g. *en* and *dentro*—*a* can be an argument but never a predicate nor an adjunct. Only those locative markers that can serve as arguments may obtain a directional reading. Having now motivated the semantic characterizations of the prepositions that may introduce the goal XP, in the next chapter I concentrate on the main role played by the manner of motion verb.

²I will provide evidence in the remainder of the thesis that this goal interpretation is only possible as long as contextual support is available.

Chapter 6

Semantic Characterization of Manner of Motion Verbs, Verbs-Classification, & How to Test

The crucial issue here is the question of which manner of motion verbs in Spanish allow for directional readings of complements introduced by *a* and which do not. This topic has received much attention in literature and some researchers, such as Morimoto (1998) and Fábregas (2007), have proposed that it correlates with whether the verb can lexicalize path or not. In other words, if a verb implicates displacement, then it is to be expected that it can take an *a*-complement so as to encode goal. If a verb does not necessarily implicate displacement, then it cannot take an *a*-complement so as to encode goal.

A test used in Fábregas (2007) so as to classify the verbs according to whether they implicate displacement or not is illustrated in (29):

- (29) # *Juan voló durante una hora y al terminar estaba en el mismo sitio.*
Juan flew for an hour and at finishing was in the same place
'Juan flew for one hour and when he finished he was in the same place.'

[Adapted from Fábregas 2007: 185 (40-41)]

However, I believe that (29) is felicitous under the reading that “someone

flew for an hour and then came back and landed in the same place where he/she started” and, therefore, it is not necessarily testing for the implication of displacement. For this, I propose using a different test that cannot lead to ambiguity. In particular, I suggest classifying manner of motion verbs in terms of whether they *naturally* allow for ‘in-placeness’ (*sin desplazarse* ‘without displacement’) or not.¹

- (30) a. *Juan bailó sin desplazarse.*
 Juan danced without displacement
 ‘Juan danced in place.’
- b. # *Juan patinó sin desplazarse.*
 Juan skated without displacement
 ‘Juan skated in place.’

The test used in (30) suggests that the verb *bailar* ‘dance’ does not necessarily implicate displacement, as opposed to the verb *patinar* ‘skate’, which necessarily implicates displacement, since its use sounds infelicitous when the predicate is being modified by the phrase ‘without displacement.’

This being said, now we can review Fábregas’ (2007) classification shown in (7) and presented again here. I believe that such a classification lacks in consistency because verbs like *cojear* ‘limp’ and *gatear* ‘crawl’ implicate some sort of displacement and would sound pragmatically odd used with the ‘in-place’ test, as shown in (32):²

¹I would like to point out that ‘in place’ might not be the best translation for *sin desplazarse* and give rise to slightly different judgements in English, but this is not to be confused from the judgements here, which are all based on the Spanish sentences.

²Though Fábregas (2007) acknowledges that these two verbs, *cojear* ‘limp’ and *gatear* ‘crawl’, may be subject to speakers variability, in Fábregas’ (2007) analysis, their default interpretation would still be that displacement is not implicated.

- (31) a. <Proc> verbs: *flotar* ‘float’, *temblar* ‘shiver’, *bailar* ‘dance’, *tropezar* ‘trip’, *cojear* ‘limp’, and *gatear* ‘crawl.’
 b. <Proc, Path> verbs: *volar* ‘fly’, *correr* ‘run’, *caminar* ‘walk’, *deslizarse* ‘slide.’
- (32) a. ?? *Juan cojeó sin desplazarse.*
 Juan limped without displacement
 ‘Juan limped in place.’
 b. # *Juan gateó sin desplazarse.*
 Juan crawled without displacement
 ‘Juan crawled in place.’

Furthermore, it is not so clear that this is a two-way-distinction, but rather a three-way-distinction of manner of motion verbs, since it would be possible to conceive of very specific contexts in which certain verbs that generally imply displacement, under very restricted circumstances, may not. Though these verbs would naturally fail the ‘in-placeness’ test without a context, as in (33), it is still possible to force an ‘in-place’ reading, as in (34):

- (33) a. # *Juan corrió sin desplazarse.*
 Juan ran without displacement
 ‘Juan ran in place.’
 (default interpretation of *correr*)
 b. # *Juan nadó sin desplazarse.*
 Juan swam without displacement
 ‘Juan swam in place.’
 (default interpretation of *nadar*)

- (34) a. [Juan is running and stops at a red light but continues simulating running so as not to cool down]

Juan está corriendo sin desplazarse.
 Juan is running without displacement
 ‘Juan is running in place.’

- b. [Juan has been thrown into a pool and treads water, without displacement, so as not to drown]

Juan está nadando sin desplazarse.
 Juan is swimming without displacement
 ‘Juan is swimming in place.’

However, this possibility does not hold for all manner of motion verbs. I believe that verbs like *deslizarse* ‘slide’ do always require some sort of displacement, and, as such, they would always sound odd when used with the ‘in-placeness’ test no matter in what context they occur, as in (35):

- (35) # *Juan se deslizó sin desplazarse.*
 Juan CL slid without displacement
 ‘Juan slid in place.’

Hence, this type of verb can never receive an in-place reading even if the context is forced, unlike verbs such as *correr* ‘run’ and *nadar* ‘swim’, as discussed above.

Besides implication of displacement (path), another factor that may come into play in order to distinguish the nature of some manner of motion verbs from others is goal-resistance (aimlessness). Some manner of motion verbs usually describe motion events with no particular goal in mind (henceforth *goal-resistant* verbs), thus resisting the notion of a goal; whereas some

others are not necessarily but often used in contexts that presuppose a goal (Jones 1996), thus strongly favoring the presupposition of a goal. From this, it follows another significant contrast between manner of motion verbs in terms of whether they are neutral—i.e. when used, a goal may be presupposed—vs. goal-resistant—i.e. usually no goal is presupposed. Furthermore, this distinction may be lexical or conventional. The former is represented by verbs like *deambular* ‘wander around’, whose aimless nature is already in the meaning of the verb, which, in this particular case, according to the RAE, is “walking with no determined direction” (*translation mine*), and its goal acceptability does not improve even when a goal is presupposed in context, as exemplified in (36):

- (36) a. # *Juan deambuló a la tienda.*
 Juan wandered to the store
 ‘Juan wandered to the store.’
- b. [How did Juan get to the store?]
 # *deambuló a la tienda.*
 wandered to the store
 ‘Juan wandered to the store.’

Another lexically goal-resistant verb would be *corretear* ‘run around’ whose meaning is to run around in various directions, but not in a specific one. As such, even in a context where the goal has been presupposed, the use of *corretear* ‘run around’ to express how the goal is reached would sound stilted, as shown in (37):

- (37) [We know that Juan purposely ran (around) to the store to buy some groceries]

Juan correteó a la tienda
 Juan ran.around at the store

‘Juan ran around to the store.’

As for conventionally goal-resistant verbs, I believe that most of the verbs within this category describe activities related to pleasure and/or sports, which are conventionally not associated with heading to/reaching a particular destination: such as, *patinar* ‘skate’ (usually roller-skating), *esquiar* ‘ski’ (usually not cross-country skiing) or *pasear* ‘take a walk’/‘stroll.’ Note how, out of context, they are goal-resistant—the speaker’s intention is usually just to describe the manner component of a motion event with no need to reach a particular destination—, but when the context is refined and a goal is presupposed, they may be used together with a goal of motion, as shown in (38) with the manner of motion verb *patinar* ‘skate.’

- (38) a. # *Juan patinó a la tienda.*
 Juan skated to the store
 ‘Juan skated to the store.’

- b. [How did Juan get to the store?]
patinó a la tienda.
 skated to the store
 ‘Juan skated to the store.’

I thus believe that both factors, i.e. (i) path implication and (ii) goal-resistance, need to be considered together so as to better understand the behavior of motion verbs when it comes to *a*-acceptability, as it will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

I now extend the verb list in (31) so as to include verbs frequently discussed in literature (e.g. in Martínez-Vázquez 2001, Pedersen 2010) and other verbs and the two influential factors: path implication and goal-resistance. As for the former, I reclassify motion verbs according to a four-way-distinction. The verbs in (39a-b) allow ‘in-place’, and yet the verbs in (39b) more often describe events that have a path. We can distinguish (39a) from (39b) by using the ‘in-place’ test. A prototypical use of a verb in (39b) with the *sin desplazarse*-('in place') phrase would sound stilted, whereas this is not the case with verbs from (39a). The verbs in (39c-d) do not allow ‘in-place’ under any circumstances³, and only the verbs in (39d) entail arrival at a different location. On the other hand, I underline the verbs that, according to my own intuitions, I believe are lexically goal-resistant and further highlight in bold the verbs that would generally be (lexically or conventionally) used to indicate goal-resistant movements, though this will ultimately be contingent on context.

- (39) a. low displacement manner verbs (take ‘in place’): ***flotar*** ‘float’, ***temblar*** ‘shiver’, ***bailar*** ‘dance’, ***danzar*** ‘dance’, *tropezar* ‘trip’
- b. overwhelming displacement manner verbs (rarely take ‘in place’): *volar* ‘fly’, *correr* ‘run’, ***nadar*** ‘swim’, *caminar* ‘walk’, *andar* ‘walk’, *pedalear* ‘pedal’, ***remar*** ‘row’, *trotar* ‘trot’, *saltar* ‘jump’, *cojear* ‘limp’

³I do not take into account contexts that involve gym stationary machines or video-game machines for the verb classification.

- c. categorical displacement manner verbs (* ‘in place’): *gatear* ‘crawl’, *deslizarse* ‘slide’, *navegar* ‘sail’, *conducir* ‘drive’, *manejar* ‘drive’, *patinar* ‘skate’, *esquiar* ‘ski’, *pasear* ‘stroll’, *corretear* ‘run around’, *rodar* ‘roll’, *revolcarse* ‘roll’, *arrastrar(se)* ‘drag (one-self)’, *escalar* ‘climb’, *deambular* ‘wander around’
- d. categorical displacement path verbs
with arrival at another location (* ‘in place’): *subir* ‘go up’, *entrar* ‘enter’, *salir* ‘exit’, *ir* ‘go’, *cruzar* ‘cross’

My hypothesis up to this point is that all motion verbs in (39) may express events that have a path and indicate goal by taking adjunctive *hacia* or adjunctive *hasta*. Nonetheless, (39a) would never take an *a*-complement, (39d) would always allow for an *a*-complement and (39b-c) may only sometimes. Understanding why it is the case that the verbs in (39b-c) may only sometimes take a goal argument is our objective. For this, the concept of \pm displacement is not enough, but \pm goal-resistance needs to be also taken into account together in order to be able to predict how likely *a*-acceptability will be. For instance, a *categorical-displacement* manner verb, which describes an event that categorically has a path, may still resist taking a goal if, conventionally or lexically, it is of goal-resistant nature, thus making the ‘in-placeness’ test not a sufficient condition for predictability of *a*-acceptability, contra what is stated in Martínez Vázquez (2001) and Fábregas (2007). I predict instead that it is only those manner of motion events that in addition to conventionally having a path (i.e. + displacement events) are –goal-resistant (i.e. more neutral as to the notion of a goal) that will more easily accept an *a*-argument when context favors such interpretation.

This categorization reproduces the classic Talmyan (1985, 2000) clas-

sification but it allows for intermediacy. In the next chapter, I introduce a semantic compositional analysis that first captures the possible combinations of the motion verbs that conform to the classic Talmyan typology—i.e. (39a) and (39d)—with prepositions *a/hacia/hasta* to introduce goal. Afterwards, I propose the denotations of the verbs in (39b) and (39c) and an analysis that allows for these manner of motion verbs to possibly combine with prepositions to express goal.

Chapter 7

Semantic Compositional Analysis

In this chapter I propose a semantic compositional analysis of the possible combinations of classic manner of motion verbs and path verbs with prepositional phrases to encode goal, which can capture Talmy’s typology as well as all the variation. For this, I assume a model in which there are individuals, events, and paths. Verbs and prepositions are functions.

First, I start by analyzing the classic manner of motion verbs—i.e. verbs that conflate motion and manner (Talmy 1985). According to the Talmyan binary typology, it is expected that these verbs in a V-framed language, like Spanish, will express the manner alone (with no path complement) or will be used gerundively to express manner as a satellite to a path verb (Talmy 1985). According to my verb classification in (39), the manner of motion verbs that conform to this—i.e. the manner of motion verbs that are not coerceable into taking a goal XP complement—are what I name *low-displacement* manner verbs. These do not have a categorical path and can, thus, naturally occur with the *sin desplazarse* ‘without displacement’ phrase. Nonetheless, the existence of a path in some of the events described by these verbs is possible since some events will have change-of-locational path. For example, a representative of this class is the verb *bailar* ‘dance.’ In the set of events of *bailar* ‘dance’ some of the dancing events may have path (like in the case of ‘waltzing’), and some may not (like in the case of ‘dancing in place’). The prototypical

semantic denotation of such a verb type is given in (40), where the verb simply describes the manner of the event, but it does not require a path.

$$(40) \quad \llbracket \textit{bailar} \rrbracket := \lambda e[\textit{dance}'(e)]^1$$

In (40), e is a motion event in the domain of events U_E and this motion event is performed in a dancing manner.

By contrast, inherently-directed motion verbs, in my classification in (39d), are classic examples of path verbs—i.e. verbs that conflate motion and path (Talmy 1985). Considering the Talmyan binary typology, it is expected that, in Spanish, these verbs will be able to take a manner satellite (i.e. a gerundive or prepositional phrase) (Talmy 1985). I propose that these verbs have a categorical path, since they clearly implicate displacement and fail the ‘in-place’ test. Furthermore, these verbs already denote categorically a specification of the direction of motion, what I understand as ‘goal’, because the event starts and never ends in the same place. The semantic denotation of such a verb type is shown in (41), where the verb contains both ‘path’ and ‘goal’ in its denotation (based on the denotation of *noboru* ‘go up’ in Japanese in Beavers 2008).

$$(41) \quad \llbracket \textit{subir} \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda e \exists p [\textit{go.up}'(e) \wedge \textit{path}'(e, p) \wedge \textit{goal}'(e, p, g)]$$

In (41), e is a motion event in the domain of events U_E , p is its path in the domain of directed paths U_D , and $g \in U_D$ is the final part of p at which the figure arrives at the end of e .

¹I am assuming that external arguments, such as figures, would be introduced later, following Kratzer (1996).

Regarding the prepositions that may introduce goal XPs, first I start with the general delimiter *hasta*, which can combine with any verb (stative/dynamic) to delimit some participant (e.g. time, path, a numerical range) in the state/event. Furthermore, as demonstrated, *hasta* introduces limits adjunctively, thus acting as a functor, and it needs to pick out the largest event compatible with what it modifies (as exemplified in (23)). For this, I suggest using the Maximilization Operator MAX_E , introduced by Filip and Rothstein (2006). This operator can be applied to a partially ordered set of events, from which it picks out the unique maximal event at a given situation. This being said, the denotation I propose for *hasta* is illustrated in (42).²

- (42) a. $\llbracket hasta \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda P \lambda e \exists x [MAX_E(P)(e) \wedge Limit'(e, g, x)]$
- b. The Maximilization Operator MAX_E . It is a monadic operator, such that $MAX_E(\sum) \subset \sum$, which maps sets of partially ordered events \sum onto sets of maximal events $MAX_E(\sum)$ (Filip and Rothstein 2006).
- (Thus, ‘ g is the limit³ of some participant x in the maximal event e described by P ’)

Following the definition of *-made* in Beavers (2008), in (42), x is a participant in an event $e \in U_E$ —e.g. time, path, a numerical range—, of the same domain as limit g , and which participant x is being delimited will be determined by context, since it is existentially bound. For example, when *hasta*’s complement

²Denotation based—though modified—on Japanese *-made* in Beavers (2008).

³The difference between a *limit* and a *goal* is that *goal* is specialized for motion events, whereas *limit* would be more the general concept which can be applied to other type of events (Beavers 2008), as exemplified in Chapter 4 with the different range of delimitation functions of *hasta*.

indicates time through a temporal DP, as in *Juan correrá hasta [manāna]_{DP}* ‘Juan will run until tomorrow’, x is the temporal trace $\in U_T$ of the event e and g , also $\in U_T$, corresponds to the limit of x , e.g. **tomorrow** in the example above. Therefore, this denotation of *hasta* allows multiple limit interpretations contingent on context, in compliance with *hasta*’s behavior as a general delimitator. Accordingly, the participant x will only correspond to path and the limit g indicate the limit of such a path when *hasta*’s complement is a spatial DP that combines with a motion event because the only eligible participant of a motion event that can be delimited spatially is path. Finally, the maximization operator in (42) denotes that *hasta* picks out the unique maximal event e at a given situation. Therefore, $g \in U_n$ —where n is a variable on domain types—is the limit of a participant $x \in U_n$ (e.g. time or path determined by context) in the maximal event $e \in U_E$ described by a predicate P .

The other adjunctive preposition that can introduce a goal XP under study here is *hacia*—i.e. the only inherently directional preposition with no implication of arrival in the context of Motion + Goal. As discussed, *hacia* only occurs with events that have a path among dynamic predicates. In order to capture this, I posit a precondition—the existence of a path in the event described by the predicate—in its denotation, as shown in (43):

$$(43) \quad \llbracket \textit{hacia} \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda P \lambda e [P(e) \wedge \textit{direction}'(e, g, \iota y [\textit{path}'(e, y)])]$$

precondition : $\exists p [\textit{path}'(e, p)]$

(In an event e , g is the direction of the unique entity that is the path of e)

In (43), I use the iota-operator, ι , to denote that *hacia* can only modify the unique entity y such that it is the path of the event e . Additionally, the precondition predicts that *hacia* can only modify motion predicates provided that the

event has a path. Therefore, the definition of *hacia* is such that in an event $e \in U_E$ —which has a path—described by a predicate P , $g \in U_D$ is the direction of the unique entity that is the path of e . Hence, considering that *hasta* and *hacia* are functors, the prediction is that they will be able to combine with any eventive predicate that satisfies all of the relevant conditions, e.g. for the case of *hacia* such an event needs to describe a path.

By contrast, I claim that a functions as an argument marker of type $\langle e, e \rangle$, and thus the a -Goal XP results in type $\langle e \rangle$. Its denotation is given in (44):

$$(44) \quad \llbracket a \rrbracket := \lambda g_e[g]$$

In (44), a introduces the argument $g \in U_D$, which will happen to be the final point of a path (goal) in the context of a motion event. Considering the semantic denotation of a , the reason why verbs do not only take a DP to introduce a goal would be taken care of syntactically: the possibility of a vs. accusative DP would be made at argument structure.

7.1 Classic Combinations that Conform to Talmy’s (1985)

Next, I exemplify how these motion verb-types and prepositions may be combined so as to express goal. At first, these seem to represent the classic combinations that conform to Talmy’s (1975, 1985) with the manner of motion verb not being able to combine with the argument marker a . Nevertheless, we already start seeing variation because the prepositions *hacia* and *hasta* can perfectly introduce goals to the manner of motion events.

First, as predicted by the denotations, manner of motion verbs and inherently directed motion verbs can combine with adjunctive *hasta*-phrases

with no problem because the functor *hasta* may modify any type of predicate, in this case one that involves a dancing event, as illustrated in (45) with the manner of motion verb *bailar* ‘dance’:

- (45) a. *Juan bailó hasta la puerta.*
 Juan danced until the door.
 ‘Juan danced up to the door.’
- b. $\llbracket \textit{bailar} \rrbracket := \lambda e[\textit{dance}'(e)]$
- c. $\llbracket \textit{hasta} \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda P \lambda e \exists x [\textit{MAX}_E(P)(e) \wedge \textit{Limit}'(e, g, x)]$
- d. $\llbracket \textit{la puerta} \rrbracket := d$
- e. $\llbracket \textit{bailar hasta la puerta} \rrbracket := \lambda e \exists x [\textit{MAX}_E(\textit{dance}')(e) \wedge \textit{Limit}'(e, d, x)]$

In (45), we know that the participant x must belong to the same type of domain as the goal g . In this example, *hasta*’s complement is a spatial DP and, as such, the limit $g \in U_D$. Furthermore, we know that this is a motion event. The only appropriate participant $\in U_D$ of a motion event that can be delimited spatially is path. Therefore, context will determine that d , *la puerta* ‘the door’, is the only thing that can be the limit of the path participant of the motion event. Additionally, the maximilization operator indicates that d delimits spatially the unique largest dancing event e in such a context. In other words, the derivation tells us that the DP *the door* delimits spatially the unique largest event in context, and such an event is a *dancing* motion event, where the only eligible participant is path. Since there is a limit to this motion, we infer that there was displacement, i.e. a path, and the limit corresponds to the goal of such a path.

Second, since the functor *hacia* has the precondition that it must modify an event that has a path, I present a three-way-contrast of motion verbs

in terms of when they may combine with *hacia* to express direction of the event. We need to take into account that there are two types of motion verbs with regard to path implication: (i) motion verbs that describe events that always have a path (i.e. path verbs and *categorical-displacement* manner verbs) and (ii) motion verbs that describe events that may have a path (i.e. *low-displacement* manner verbs and *overwhelming-displacement* manner verbs). The former will always be able to combine with *hacia* since they always satisfy *hacia*'s precondition, whereas the latter may only combine with *hacia* when they describe an event that has a path. This is illustrated in (46):

- (46) a. **[Juan is dancing while sitting on a chair]**
 # *Juan bailó hacia la puerta.*
 Juan danced towards the door
 ‘Juan danced towards the door.’ (verb that may have a path, but not in this case)
- b. **[Juan is dancing the waltz]**
 Juan bailó hacia la puerta.
 Juan danced towards the door
 ‘Juan danced towards the door.’ (verb that may have a path, and it does in this case)
- c. *Juan subió hacia la cima.*
 Juan went.up towards the top
 ‘Juan went up towards the top.’ (verb that always has a path)

Thus, as predicted, the inherently-directed motion verb (path verb) can combine with adjunctive *hacia* considering that this verb always encodes a path, as in (46c), and the same behavior is expected for a *categorical-displacement* manner verb. By contrast, the *low-displacement* manner verb *bailar* ‘dance’

that describes events that potentially have a path can combine with adjunctive *hacia*-phrases when these events do have a path, as illustrated in (46b), but cannot when there is no path, as shown in (46a)—*overwhelming-displacement* manner verbs behaving in the same way. An example of a derivation of *hacia* with a manner of motion verb, *bailar*, is provided in (47), in a context where displacement occurred (i.e. the motion event has a path) so that the derivation can follow.

- (47) a. *Juan bailó hacia la puerta.*
 Juan danced towards the door.
 ‘Juan danced towards the door.’
- b. $\llbracket \textit{bailar} \rrbracket := \lambda e[\textit{dance}'(e)]$
- c. $\llbracket \textit{hacia} \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda P \exists e[P(e) \wedge \textit{direction}'(e, g, \iota y[\textit{path}'(e, y)])]$
 precondition : $\exists p[\textit{path}'(e, p)]$
- d. $\llbracket \textit{la puerta} \rrbracket := d$
- e. $\llbracket \textit{bailar hacia la puerta} \rrbracket := \exists e[\textit{dance}'(e) \wedge \textit{direction}'(e, d, \iota y[\textit{path}'(e, y)])]$

In (47), assuming that the precondition is satisfied—i.e. assuming that we have a context in which this is a dancing event that has a path—*d*, *la puerta* ‘the door’, is the direction of the unique entity that is the path of the dancing event $e \in U_E$.

Finally, on the basis of the proposed semantic denotations, it is predicted that the preposition *a* cannot combine with *low-displacement* manner verbs since the *a*-phrase is of type $\langle e \rangle$ and may then only combine with a verb that selects for an argument. This is the case for inherently-directed motion verbs, which can select a complement, thus enabling *a*-marking of a goal XP, as shown in (48):

- (48) a. *Juan subió a la cima.*
 Juan went.up at the top.
 ‘Juan went up to the top.’
- b. $\llbracket \textit{subir} \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda e \exists p [go.up'(e) \wedge path'(e, p) \wedge goal'(e, p, g)]$
- c. $\llbracket a \rrbracket := \lambda g [g]$
- d. $\llbracket la\ cima \rrbracket := m$
- e. $\llbracket \textit{subir a la cima} \rrbracket := \lambda e \exists p [go.up'(e) \wedge path'(e, p) \wedge goal'(e, p, m)]$

In (48), *m*, *a la cima* ‘to the top’, is the final part of the path $p \in U_D$, denoted by the going up event $e \in U_E$, at which the figure arrives at the end of e . By contrast, the present analysis predicts that *low-displacement* manner verbs cannot take an *a*-complement, since the derivation is not possible, as shown in (49):

- (49) a. **Juan bailó a la puerta.*
 Juan danced at the door.
 ‘Juan danced to the door.’
- b. $\llbracket \textit{bailar} \rrbracket := \lambda e [dance'(e)]$
- c. $\llbracket a \rrbracket := \lambda g [g]$
- d. $\llbracket la\ puerta \rrbracket := d$
- e. Derivation is not possible

In (49), the derivation of *bailar* ‘dance’ and *a* cannot follow since the goal phrase *a la puerta* ‘to the door’ is of type $\langle e \rangle$ and *low-displacement* manner verbs do not select for an argument.

Therefore, this captures the classic Talmyan Typology predicting that *bailar*-type verbs + *a* is not a possible combination, and takes into account

the widespread use of *hacia/hasta*-phrases with a manner of motion verb, predicting that these may instead combine with any motion verb, regardless of its type. However, not all manner of motion verbs fit into this classic binary typology. *Overwhelming-displacement* and *categorical-displacement* manner verbs need to be analyzed next, since these may sometimes take an *a*-complement in order to express goal.

7.2 Solution: Verb Coercion

I first here introduce the semantic denotations of *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verbs and *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs and then I exemplify a case of verb coercion, which makes the derivation of an *overwhelming-displacement* or a *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verb with an *a*-goal phrase possible, as long as there is the right contextual support.

I propose that *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verbs have inherently the exact same denotation as *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs. These do not categorically require a path, since it is possible to think of restricted contexts in which they do not implicate displacement (like in ‘Juan ran in place’). An example of the denotation of an *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verb, *correr* ‘run’, is provided in (50):

$$(50) \quad \llbracket correr \rrbracket := \lambda e[run'(e)]$$

Even though underlyingly these manner of motion verbs have the same semantic representation as *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs, what makes them distinct is that there are more events of *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verbs that have a path than of *low-displacement* manner of

motion verbs. Furthermore, they may more often participate in contexts that presuppose a goal, thus favoring the notion of a path and a goal to a higher extent. I will rely on these semantic and pragmatic distinctions later to explain why the former—but not the latter—are coerceable into path-type verbs to describe path and goal whenever the semantic and pragmatic variables favor such interpretation.

With regard to *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs, these are distinct from the rest of manner of motion verbs in that they categorically require a path, since all the events that they may describe implicate change of location. Following this, I suggest the following type of denotation represented in (51) for the *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verb *deslizarse* ‘slide’ :

$$(51) \quad \llbracket \textit{deslizarse} \rrbracket := \lambda e \exists p [\textit{slide}'(e) \wedge \textit{path}'(e, p)]$$

The fact that these verbs have a path in their denotation makes them already behave more like path verbs and more easily coerceable into path-type verbs whenever their manner content is faded into the background because the semantic and pragmatic conditions shift the focus to their path and, consequently, goal interpretation.

All in all, *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verbs and *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs that are not lexically goal-resistant may be coerced so as to take a goal argument introduced by *a* whenever the semantic and pragmatic variables trigger both a path and goal interpretation, both necessary components of the denotation of a path-type verb. For this, I posit a coercion analysis through pragmatics so as to capture the fact that, under certain *path*- and *goal*-favorable conditions, these manner of motion verbs

take an *a*-PP as an argument, when naturally these verbs cannot, since, inherently, either they take no arguments, or if they do, they only take accusative and/or dative arguments. An example of a derivation of a manner of motion verb with an *a*-complement through verb coercion is illustrated in (52) with the *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verb *correr* ‘run’:

(52) [Juan ran from school to his house. The distance is short.
Neither path nor manner are salient. There is no impediment]

- a. *Juan corrió a la casa.*
Juan ran at the house.
‘Juan ran to the house.’
- b. $\llbracket correr \rrbracket := \lambda e \exists p [run'(e) \wedge path'(e, p)] \rightarrow$
 $\llbracket correr \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda e \exists p [run'(e) \wedge path'(e, p) \wedge goal'(e, p, g)]$
- c. $\llbracket a \rrbracket := \lambda g [g]$
- d. $\llbracket la casa \rrbracket := h$
- e. $\llbracket correr a la casa \rrbracket := \lambda e \exists p [run'(e) \wedge path'(e, p) \wedge goal'(e, p, h)]$

The manner of motion verb in (52) is coerced into a verb-type that selects for an argument of type $\langle e \rangle$, thus making it only then possible for these verbs to take an *a*-PP as an argument.⁴

⁴Another interesting piece of data is the following contrast between a manner of motion verb that behaves as a path-type verb and a path verb:

- (52') a. *Juan fue a la orilla un rato.*
Juan went to the shore a while
‘Juan went to the shore for a while.’
- b. *Juan nadó a la orilla un rato.*
Juan swam to the shore a while
‘Juan swam to the shore for a while.’

This analysis furthermore explains why only locative *a*-phrases can introduce a goal XP of a motion event as an argument to the verb in Spanish. It predicts that only PPs headed by *a* will be able to introduce the goal of a motion event because *a*-PPs always allow type $\langle e \rangle$ readings—a reason why the derivation of *a*-PPs in conjunction with path-type verbs can follow. By contrast, *en*-PPs are never of this type because they are typed as adjuncts, making it impossible for them to combine with manner verbs and introduce a goal argument. For better illustrative purposes, see the denotation of *en* of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ given in (53), from which follows that it cannot introduce the argument of type $\langle e \rangle$ that the path-type verb is looking for:⁵

- (53) a. * *Juan subió en la cima.*
 Juan went.up in the top.
 ‘Juan went up to the top.’
- b. $\llbracket \textit{subir} \rrbracket := \lambda g \lambda e \exists p [go.up'(e) \wedge path'(e, p) \wedge goal'(e, p, g)]$
- c. $\llbracket \textit{en} \rrbracket := \lambda p \lambda e [in'(e, p)]$
- d. $\llbracket \textit{la cima} \rrbracket := m$
- e. Derivation is not possible

I ultimately propose that what prevents *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs from being coerced into path-type verbs is a prototypicality ef-

The example in (52'a) means that ‘Juan stayed at the shore for a while.’ However, (52'b) means that ‘the swimming event lasted for a while.’ Even though I posit verb coercion of the semantic denotation of the verb *nadar* ‘swim’ in (52'b) into a path-type verb like *ir* ‘go’ in (52'a), I hypothesize that the representation of their event structure would be preserved and still be different in order to capture their contrastive behavior when it comes to scope.

⁵Since I claim that *en*-PPs can never be of type $\langle e \rangle$, I stipulate that the verb *poner* ‘put’ in Spanish, which, in principle, takes two arguments (an object and an *en*-PP), at argument structure, this verb would take an argument (the theme) of type $\langle e \rangle$ and then a functor as the other argument (the locative-PP) of type $\langle e, t \rangle$.

fect. It is more prototypical for an *overwhelming-displacement* and a *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verb to describe a path—rather than a relatively aimless movement (Jones 1996, Tham *et al.* 2012)—which might consequently create the need to express the goal of such a path, which would enable coercion and handles the “squishy” nature of acceptability. I analyze next the contextual factors that may trigger the need for a directional/goal interpretation of these prototypical-displacement manner of motion verbs, which will license verb coercion.

Chapter 8

More Semantics & Pragmatics Coming into Play: Selecting the Right Preposition (*a* vs. *hasta*)

Overwhelming-displacement manner of motion verbs (e.g. *correr* ‘run’), and *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs (e.g. *deslizarse* ‘slide’) are different from *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs (e.g. *bailar* ‘dance’) not only because they strongly or categorically implicate displacement (have a higher placement on the displacement hierarchy), but also because, when semantics and pragmatics favor so, they can behave very much like path-type verbs and thus take *a*-complements. Nevertheless, this behavior does not solely depend on their degree of displacement. Recall that another important categorization has to do with goal-resistance. Some manner of motion verbs are lexically goal-resistant (e.g. *deambular* ‘wander’), some others are conventionally goal-resistant (e.g. *pasear* ‘stroll’), and the rest are neutral as to the notion of a goal. Furthermore, here I will introduce another significant factor, strongly related to a verb’s degree of manner,¹ to categorize manner of motion verbs. I will ultimately posit that only conventionally *goal-resistant*, *neutral*, and less *mannery* manner of motion verbs placed high on the displacement hierarchy

¹Specificity of manner has also been suggested as an influential factor for the case of *into* vs. *in* in English in Nikitina (2008): directional readings of the locative P *in* in English seem to be dispreferred with verbs that describe highly specific manners of motions.

will be able to accept an *a*-argument.

The semantic compositional analysis provided so far allows this through verb coercion, but this operation is not entirely free. In this chapter, I propose that the coercion operation is conditional on lexical semantics and pragmatics: the verbs that can accept an *a*-argument are coerced into inherently-directed-motion-type verbs only when certain semantic and contextual factors favor a path-type reading. Understanding what specific lexical and contextual factors enable such interpretation is reduced to two crucial notions: (i) degree of manner and (ii) degree of goal-resistance. I posit that, at both the lexical and contextual level, (i) a lower degree of manner and (ii) a lower degree of goal-resistance facilitate coercion into a path-type verb, since such a use of such a manner-type verb may be understood in context as closer to a path-type verb. However, coercion can be blocked by the use of *hasta*, which is preferred in certain specific environments.

Overall, this leads us to the following predictions: on the one hand, there are manner of motion verbs that lexically rule out *a*—i.e. *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs like *bailar* ‘dance’ and lexically goal-resistant manner of motion verbs like *deambular* ‘wander’—and, on the other hand, there are manner of motion verbs that do not categorically reject *a*. Within this latter group that may allow for an *a*-complement, some verbs will need more pragmatic support than others. The verbs in more need of contextual support are conventionally goal-resistant verbs, like *pasear* ‘stroll’, and verbs of higher degrees of manner. The rest—i.e. less goal-resistant and less *mannery* verbs—are relatively *neutral* with regard to their acceptability of an *a*-goal phrase. Pragmatics can help *conventionally goal-resistant*, *mannery* and *neutral* manner of motion verbs become goal-oriented in context by presupposing a goal, which

will then favor the use of *a*, though of the different verb classes *neutral* manner of motion verbs will need less pragmatic support. Here I examine in further detail the lexical and contextual factors required for the emergence of a goal interpretation of a manner of motion verb that triggers *a*-marking of the goal argument. Nevertheless, this possibility will only be able to hold as long as the motion event does not involve any sort of effort, in which case the use of *hasta* is favored.

8.1 Lexical Factors & the Role of Contextual Support

Lexically speaking, the first question to address here is what is the semantics of a verb that will impede a path and goal interpretation of a manner of motion verb. As suggested in the verb-classification in (39), *low-displacement* and lexically *goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs—like *bailar* ‘dance’ and *deambular* ‘wander’ respectively—are expected to reject an *a*-goal-XP. I claim that this is due to a prototypicality effect. It is less prototypical for these verbs to describe a goal of a path, either because they lexically disfavor the notion of a goal or because they lexically disfavor the notion of a path, hence strongly disfavoring their behavior as path-type verbs via coercion, to the point of categorically rejecting this question.

Recall that a verb is *low-displacement* if it naturally accepts *sin desplazarse* ‘without displacement.’ On the other hand, a verb is lexically resistant to the notion of a goal if it is very hard to think of natural contexts in which its manner-contents would be purposely used in order to reach a particular goal, which impedes such a verb from taking a goal-phrase as an argument. I believe that the only verbs under analysis here that are lexically resistant to the notion of a goal are *temblar* ‘tremble’, *tropezar* ‘trip’,

deambular ‘wander’ and *corretear* ‘run around.’ Two examples of verbs that categorically reject *a* are shown in (54) with the *lexically goal-resistant* and *low-displacement* manner of motion verb *tropezar* ‘trip’ and the *lexically goal-resistant* and yet *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verb *deambular* ‘wander’: even when these are placed in a goal-oriented context (see below for more on this) they cannot allow for *a*-complementhood.

- (54) a. **[Juan is walking. There is a stone on the ground in front of the store that he wants to reach. By tripping over it, he reaches the store, i.e. his determined goal]**

Juan tropezó a la tienda.

Juan tripped at the store

‘Juan tripped to the store.’

- b. **[Juan is walking and heading to the store right in front of him to buy some groceries. For a moment he feels disoriented and while he is in that state he reaches the store, i.e. his determined goal]**

Juan deambuló a la tienda.

Juan wandered at the store

‘Juan wandered to the store.’

Therefore, having a specific context that requires reaching a particular goal cannot make a difference with regard to *a*-acceptability with *low-displacement* and/or *lexically goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs. The crucial contextual factor here is goal-presupposition. I predict that by presupposing the goal of a manner of motion event, context should, in principle, favor the transition to such a goal, and facilitate an *a*-reading whenever possible.² In this line, observe

²I would like to thank Dr. Ashwini Deo for the idea of considering goal presupposition as

how pragmatic help by introducing a question under discussion as a way to presuppose a goal also does not favor *a*-marking for either the *low-displacement* manner of motion verb *bailar* ‘dance’ or the *lexically goal-resistant* manner of motion verb *deambular* ‘wander’ in (55):

- (55) a. [How did Juan get to the store?]

bailó a la tienda.

danced at the store

‘Juan danced to the store.’

- b. [How did Juan get to the store?]

deambuló a la tienda.

wandered at the store

‘Juan wandered to the store.’

Thus neither contexts in which a goal is known in advance nor accepted as background information facilitate these verbs from taking an *a*-complement. Rather, they reject them categorically.

By contrast, if a verb is not placed low on the displacement hierarchy and is not *lexically goal-resistant*, it is predicted that this verb will be able to take an *a*-goal phrase with the help of more or less pragmatic support, which will depend on its lexical attributes. With regard to goal-resistance, besides *lexically goal-resistant* verbs, there are, on the one hand, *conventionally goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs and, on the other hand, *neutral* verbs—as previously discussed in Chapter 6. As is to be expected, the former will require more pragmatic support than the latter because of their goal-resisting conventional nature, but will not wholly rule out *a*-complements.

a way to provide pragmatic support for a goal-oriented interpretation of a manner of motion verb.

Recall that verbs that are not lexically and yet are conventionally goal-resistant are verbs that usually refer to recreational activities/sports since the objective of practicing such activities is usually for pleasure with no intention of reaching a particular destination. An example would be *esquiar* ‘ski’ since it does not usually refer to cross-country skiing but to skiing down a mountain as a recreational activity/sport. As observed in Chapter 6, other verbs included in this group are *remar* ‘row’, *nadar* ‘swim’, and *escalar* ‘climb’, among others. These *conventionally goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs may (and must) build on context, unlike *lexically goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs, to acquire a path-type reading and, as a result, allow for *a*-complementhood. This is illustrated with the *conventionally goal-resistant* manner of motion verb *esquiar* ‘ski’ in (56): in (56a), the use of the verb+*a*-goal-phrase out of context would sound stilted, but when a goal has been presupposed (as in (56b) by using a question under discussion in which a goal is accepted as a background assumption) its acceptability improves:

- (56) a. # *Juan esquió a Suecia.*
 Juan skied at Sweden
 ‘Juan skied to Sweden.’
- b. [How did Juan get to Sweden?]
 ? *Juan esquió a Suecia.*
 Juan skied at Sweden
 ‘Juan skied to Sweden.’

Another example with another *conventionally goal-resistant* manner of motion verb, *patinar* ‘skate’, is given in (57). This time, in (57b), a goal is facilitated in advance through context improving its *a*-acceptability, as opposed to its use in (57a), where no context that presupposes a goal has been provided:

- (57) a. # *Juan patinó a la escuela.*
 Juan skated at the school
 ‘Juan skated to school.’
- b. [**Juan is skating to go to school. We know he doesn’t have a bike or a car and he doesn’t like using public transportation. Instead, he always skates everywhere he goes to**]
- ? *Juan patinó a la escuela.*
 Juan skated at the school
 ‘Juan skated to school.’

Thus, although *conventionally goal-resistant* verbs reject *a*-complements out of the blue, contextual support may allow such complements.

Finally, the rest (not *lexically* or *conventionally goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs) are considered *neutral* with respect to the notion of a goal, like *caminar* ‘walk.’ These may (but not inevitably) also need to resort to context, though to a lesser extent, in order to acquire a goal-oriented interpretation, since for example, *caminar* ‘walk’ can accept *a* even when used unexpectedly, i.e. without a preceding context, as shown in (58a), giving rise to a sentence as acceptable as (58b), where a goal has been presupposed as part of a question under discussion:

- (58) a. *Juan caminó a la tienda.*
 Juan walked at the store
 ‘Juan walked to the store.’

- b. [How did Juan get to the store?]

Juan caminó a la tienda.

Juan walked at the store

‘Juan walked to the store.’

Another example of a *neutral* manner of motion verb regarding goal-resistance is *correr* ‘run.’ Observe in (59) how *correr* ‘run’ can accept *a* out of context, as in (59a), as well as when background information facilitates the notion of a goal, as in (59b):

- (59) a. *Juan corrió a la escuela.*

Juan ran at the school

‘Juan ran to school.’

- b. [Juan is always late. He hates using any means of transportation and, whenever distance permits, he finds himself running to all his determined goals]

Juan corrió a la escuela.

Juan ran at the school

‘Juan ran to school.’

Therefore, the contrastive pairs of examples in (58) and (59) provide evidence that *neutral* manner of motion verbs like *caminar* ‘walk’ and *correr* ‘run’ may not need to build on context to accept an *a*-complement. Nevertheless, other verbs that are neutral with regard to the notion of a goal may still need some contextual support, especially if they do not present a low degree of manner (which is not the case of *caminar* ‘walk’ or *correr* ‘run’), which is another lexical component that plays a crucial role in enabling a path-type interpretation, in addition to degree of displacement and degree of goal-resistance.

In sum, taking the notion of goal-resistance into account, there are three different types of verbs, which show different behaviors in regard to *a*-acceptability. There are verbs that are *lexically goal-resistant*, like *deambular* ‘wander’, which categorically rule out *a*. By contrast, there are verbs that are not *lexically* but *conventionally goal-resistant*, like *esquiar* ‘ski’, and these may accept *a* only when contextual support is present. Finally, there are verbs that are neutral with respect to the notion of a goal, like *caminar* ‘walk’, and, for these, as a rule, pragmatic support is not as required. However, in this last group, a verb’s need for more or less (or no) pragmatic support ultimately depends on their degree of manner, as explained next.

With regard to the manner component of a verb that possibly enhances a path-type reading, it seems cogent to suggest that with a lower degree of manner—i.e. the less ‘mannery’ the verb is—the more similar the verb is to a path-type verb, thus predicting a higher degree of goal-acceptability. In other words, a verb very high in manner might not need to encode dislocation, in contrast to a verb low in manner, which is more likely to encode dislocation (since otherwise its meaning might border on vacuity). One way to test specificity of manner is in terms of whether (i) the manner of motion verb implicates displacement by means of a very specific vehicle or instrument (by directly referring to the entire or even a subpart of the vehicle used), or (ii) by making reference to a more common means of transportation or even no reference to any means of transportation at all. I predict that the former type of verb will be more reluctant to accept a directional complement introduced by *a*—i.e. behave as a path verb—because of its higher manner component. In this regard, examples of verbs whose roots are rich in manner would be *pedalear* ‘pedal’ (pedals), *patinar* ‘skate’ (skates), *remar* ‘row’ (paddles), *esquiar* ‘ski’

(skis), and *trotar* ‘trot’ (horse)—as opposed to more generic manners denoted by such verbs as *volar* ‘fly’ (plane), *manejar* ‘drive’ (car), and *navegar* ‘sail’ (boat), and even *caminar* ‘walk’ and *andar* ‘walk.’ That said, I hypothesize that Talmy’s (1985) typology of verb meaning conflation with motion (either manner or path) would be fundamentally right for these highly specific manner verbs in that the manner component blocks the possibility of the verb being used as a path-type verb. For example, observe the contrast in *a*-acceptability between the two groups: highly specific manner of motion verbs disfavor an *a*-argument, as in (60a), in contrast to more generic manners of motion by means of a more general vehicle or no vehicle at all, which does not resist the *a*-argument, as illustrated by the verbs in (60b):

- (60) a. ?? *Juan pedaleó/patinó/remó/esquió/trotó a la ciudad*
 Juan pedaled/skated/rowed/skied/trotted at the city
 ‘Juan pedaled/skated/rowed/skied/trotted to the city.’
- b. *Juan voló/manejó/navegó/caminó/andó a la ciudad*
 Juan flew/drove/sailed/walked/walked at the city
 ‘Juan flew/drove/sailed/walked/walked to the city.’

Also, note that high degree of manner and goal-resistance, while being two independent factors, are not anti-related and may sometimes overlap, as with verbs such as *patinar* ‘skate’, *esquiar* ‘ski’, and *remar* ‘row’, which are both high in manner and conventionally goal-resistant. On the other hand, verbs like *pedalear* ‘pedal’ and *trotar* ‘trot’ are not lexically or conventionally goal-resistant (would be interpreted as neutral with regard to the notion of a goal), since they describe manners of motion usually used to go to some place, and yet are high in manner. Nevertheless, context can also make a difference for verbs that present higher degrees of manner. Note in (61) how *a*-acceptability

increases after a goal has been presupposed (e.g. as part of a question under discussion), where a verb high in manner (and *neutral* as to the notion of a goal), *pedalear* ‘pedal’, has been used:

- (61) a. # *Juan pedaleó a la tienda.*
 Juan pedaled at the store
 ‘Juan pedaled to the store.’
- b. [How did Juan get to the store?]
 ? *pedaleó a la tienda.*
 pedaled at the store
 ‘Juan pedaled to the store.’

Another example with another verb high in manner, *trotar* ‘trot’, is given in (62), where *a* is disfavored when the verb is used out of the blue with no pragmatic support, as in (62a). By contrast, in (62b), the presupposition of a goal as part of background information facilitates *a*-complementhood.

- (62) a. # *Juan trotó al río.*
 Juan trotted at.the river
 ‘Juan trotted to the river.’
- b. [Juan was trotting when he felt thirsty. There was a
 river with drinkable water not very far away]
 ? *Juan trotó al río.*
 Juan trotted at.the river
 ‘Juan trotted to the river.’

Thus, the pairs of examples in (61) and (62) illustrate that pragmatic support may still be needed for *neutral* verbs with regard to the notion of a goal, like *pedalear* ‘pedal’ and *trotar* ‘trot’, if they present high degrees of manner, as

opposed to other *neutral* manner of motion verbs that are not high in manner, which may not require any contextual support, such as *caminar* ‘walk’ and *correr* ‘run.’

Furthermore, another way to test the degree of specificity of manner of a manner of motion verb is by looking into the range of uses of such a verb. I believe that a verb that presents a wider range of uses such as non-literal uses, the lower in manner the verb is. In other words, verbs that are less rich in manner may be more permissive in terms of the manners that they allow, thus being able to participate in a wider range of contexts, such as non-literal contexts. For instance, in figurative (non-literal) contexts, the literal manner content of a verb is lost, what I call *manner fading*. Under such circumstances, the specification of a goal is needed to clarify what exact manner the verb is intended to convey, since otherwise the default literal meaning of the verb is assumed. Following this test, examples of manner of motion verbs that would be low in manner are verbs like *andar* ‘walk’ and *volar* ‘fly’ because they can be used in a wider range of contexts. For example, the manner of the verb *andar* ‘walk’ in Spanish could be used in certain contexts to mean ‘crawl’ (*andar a gatas*), ‘bike’ (*andar de bicicleta*), ‘drive’ (*andar de carro*), etc., where its literal meaning of never having both feet off the ground at once has been lost, or faded, to say the least. Likewise, the literal manner of the verb *volar* ‘fly’ could be faded to mean ‘run’, ‘go fast’, ‘disappear quickly’, etc., and, as a consequence, the verb *volar* ‘fly’ may present a wider range of uses. That said, note the following examples with the verb *volar* ‘fly’ in (63):

- (63) a. *Juan voló.*
 Juan flew
 ‘Juan flew.’

- b. *Juan voló a la escuela.*
 Juan flew at the school
 ‘Juan flew to school.’
- c. *Juan voló a la rotonda.*
 Juan flew at the traffic.circle
 ‘Juan flew to the traffic circle.’

In (63a), the verb takes no complement, and, out of context, we would infer that Juan actually flew, most likely by airplane or any other means of transportation that allows a human being to fly. By contrast, in (63b-c), the specification of a goal helps for clarification purposes when the actual manner of the verb is faded, and we now know that most likely Juan did not actually fly but ran fast in (63b) and drove fast in (63c), since these would be the most appropriate interpretations inferred from the given context, namely the goal phrase. Therefore, the wide variety of uses, such as non-literal uses, that the verb *volar* ‘fly’ can acquire would be another indication of the verb being low in manner, i.e. less manner specific, since its usage is more flexible and more contingent on context. I will analyze this into more detail in the next chapter.

All in all, the two lexical factors that contribute to a path-interpretation of a manner of motion verb that is not lexically goal-resistant and that usually or always implicates displacement are (i) low degree of manner and (ii) low degree of goal-resistance, which enable verb-coercion. Nevertheless, taking into account only the intrinsic semantic characteristics of these verbs from a lexical point of view is not enough so as to fully capture the manner+goal behavior in Spanish. Context must be considered as well since pragmatics may modify how goal-oriented a motion event is and facilitate the transition to a goal by presupposing the existence of such a goal. As a consequence, pragmatic support may enable verb-coercion for even conventionally goal-resistant manner

of motion verbs and verbs of high degree in manner. However, even if all these factors obtain, an *a*-complement may still be disfavored if blocked by another preposition, namely *hasta*, examined next.

8.2 Poisoning Contextual Factor: *hasta*-blocking effect

A goal phrase headed by *hasta* somehow requires the path of motion to be complex (related to durativity)³ whereas *a* seems to be indifferent to such a component. In other words, *hasta* is somehow subject to a constraint of complexity of the path for the sentence to be acceptable. For this, note the contrast in (64) with a durative verb like *correr* ‘run’ in (64a), and a path-type verb like *entrar* ‘enter’ in (64b-c). In (64a), *hasta* can mark the limit of a durative activity; by contrast, the acceptability of *hasta* with the punctual verb *entrar* ‘enter’ depends on context: only the latter context gives rise to a felicitous *hasta*-goal XP. Even though both paths in (64b) and (64c) are inherently transitional (the verb *entrar* ‘enter’ is inherently punctual because it consists of a two-place path: initial and final point, Beavers 2008), the context provided for (64c) makes the path less transitional, and thus more complex than (64b).

- (64) a. *Juan corrió hasta el salón.*
 Juan ran until the living.room
 ‘Juan ran up to the living room.’

³Please see Beavers (2008) for further discussion on the role of durativity and complexity regarding *-made*’s acceptability in Japanese.

- b. [María is right outside the living room. With just one step she places herself inside the living room]

??María *entró hasta* el salón.

María entered until the living.room

‘María entered up to the living room.’

- c. [María is at the street facing her house. She goes into her house and passing through the kitchen she ends up in the living room]

María *entró hasta* el salón.

María entered until the living.room

‘María entered up to the living room.’

[Modified from Zubizarreta & Oh 2007: 153 (464)]

The fact that *hasta* is conditional on a constraint of complexity of the path (e.g. length of path, as in (64c)) calls for some sort of complication to reach the goal, which, in its turn, brings in more effort to reach the goal. As a consequence, I believe that the adjunctive phrase *hasta* does not necessarily and yet can provide an effort flavor to the motion event, which makes it the preferred choice under effortful circumstances, blocking the use of an *a*-goal-phrase in such contexts.⁴ An effortful environment can be achieved by playing with two factors: (i) some sort of complication to reach the goal, and (ii) distance to the goal (length of path).

In this regard, the preference for *hasta* may show with manner of motion verbs that inherently denote some sort of impediment of movement, such as

⁴Comparable to the contrast *-made/-ni* in Japanese in Beavers (2008) and to French *jusque à/ dans* in Beavers *et al.* (2010). Also comparable to *in/into* in English with manner of motion verbs. Nikitina (2008) suggests that *in* becomes an option with manner of motion verbs in English when there is no salient complex path.

defective types of “walking.” This would involve verbs such as *gatear* ‘crawl’, *cojear* ‘limp’, *rodar* ‘roll’, *deslizarse* ‘slide’, and *arrastrar(se)* ‘drag (oneself).’ Nevertheless, if context cancels out their conventional association to effort, acceptability improves. This is illustrated in the following two contrastive pairs of examples, where the first sentence has the default effortful reading, making *hasta* its top choice and thus sounding stilted with the use of *a*. Nevertheless, when context in the second situation erases the element of effort conventionally associated to the meaning of the verb, *hasta* does no longer block the use of *a*, allowing for both types of goal-phrases.⁵

- (65) a. *Juan cojeó hasta/??a la tienda.*
 Juan limped until/ at the store
 ‘Juan limped up to/to the store.’
- b. *Juan cojeó hasta/a la tienda sin ningún problema.*
 Juan limped until/at the store without any problem
 ‘Juan limped up to/to the store with no problem.’
- (66) a. *Juan se deslizó hasta/??a la tienda.*
 Juan CL slid until/ at the store
 ‘Juan slid up to/to the store.’
- b. [It snowed in town. There’s ice all over the road. Juan knows how to slide gracefully]
Juan se deslizó hasta/a la tienda.
 Juan CL slid until/at the store
 ‘Juan slid up to/to the store.’

⁵Note that the fact that *hasta* is also allowed in the latter context indicates that the effort-condition of *hasta* is not encoded lexically.

In the same way that context can cancel the effort conventionally associated to the manner of motion verbs like *cojear* ‘limp’, context may add effort to verbs that, by default, do not convey an effortful manner of motion, like *caminar* ‘walk.’ An example of a context that would add effort to the manner event is provided in (67), where *hasta* would be the preferred option:

(67) [Juan was wounded. He hurt his leg. He could not walk. Juan rang the bell of his friend Pedro’s house and Pedro opened the door]

- a. ?# *Juan caminó **al** recibidor.* [OKish]
 Juan walked at.the hallway
 ‘Juan walked to the hallway.’
- b. *Juan caminó **hasta** el recibidor.* [Preferred]
 Juan walked until the hallway
 ‘Juan walked up to the hallway.’

Furthermore, another component that can contribute to an effortful environment is length of the event. In other words, the greater the distance to a goal is, the harder the transition to such a goal becomes and thus the more effort is implied to reach the goal, which, in its turn, favors the use of adjunctive *hasta*, and blocks the use of *a*. This is illustrated in the two contrastive sets of examples in (68) and (69):

(68) [Juan walked to the neighboring city at 1 km of distance]

- a. *Juan caminó **hasta** la ciudad vecina.*
 Juan walked until the city neighboring
 ‘Juan walked up to the neighboring city.’

- b. *Juan caminó **a** la ciudad vecina.*
 Juan walked at the city neighboring
 ‘Juan walked to the neighboring city.’

(69) [Juan walked to the neighboring city at 30 km of distance]

- a. *Juan caminó **hasta** la ciudad vecina.*
 Juan walked until the city neighboring
 ‘Juan walked up to the neighboring city.’
- b. ?# *Juan caminó **a** la ciudad vecina.*
 Juan walked at the city neighboring
 ‘Juan walked to the neighboring city.’

In (68), we have a neutral context with regard to effort in which the path is relatively short and in such a context there is no *hasta*-blocking effect since the use of *a* to introduce the goal is a possibility, as well as the use of *hasta*. Nonetheless, when the path is lengthened, as in (69), the event becomes more effortful and the use of *a* is blocked by the preference for *hasta*, tying back into the fact that *hasta* will always be prioritized when effort is at play.

Summarizing this chapter, I proposed that manner of motion verbs highly placed on the displacement hierarchy (i.e. *overwhelming-displacement* and *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs) may be coerced into inherently directed motion verbs (path verbs) that select for an argument, something of type <e>, thus enabling the selection for an *a*-complement. However, this is not always the case. This coercion is contingent on two main factors that may affect the manner of motion event lexically and/or contextually: (i) a lower degree of manner and (ii) a lower degree of goal-resistance are the key for coercion, hence facilitating *a*-complementhood. Whenever either or both of these conditions are met, then the manner of motion verb can behave very

much like a path verb whose main role is to convey generic motion to a different place from where the figure started. Notwithstanding, the presence of *hasta* in the Spanish inventory as another option to express arrival at a different location cannot be ignored. I believe that *hasta*'s preference in an effortful environment may block the use of *a* in such a context, regardless of compliance with the above. Finally, a summary of the lexical and contextual factors that predict verb coercion of a manner of motion verb into a path-type verb is given in the form of a diagram below as Figure 8.1:

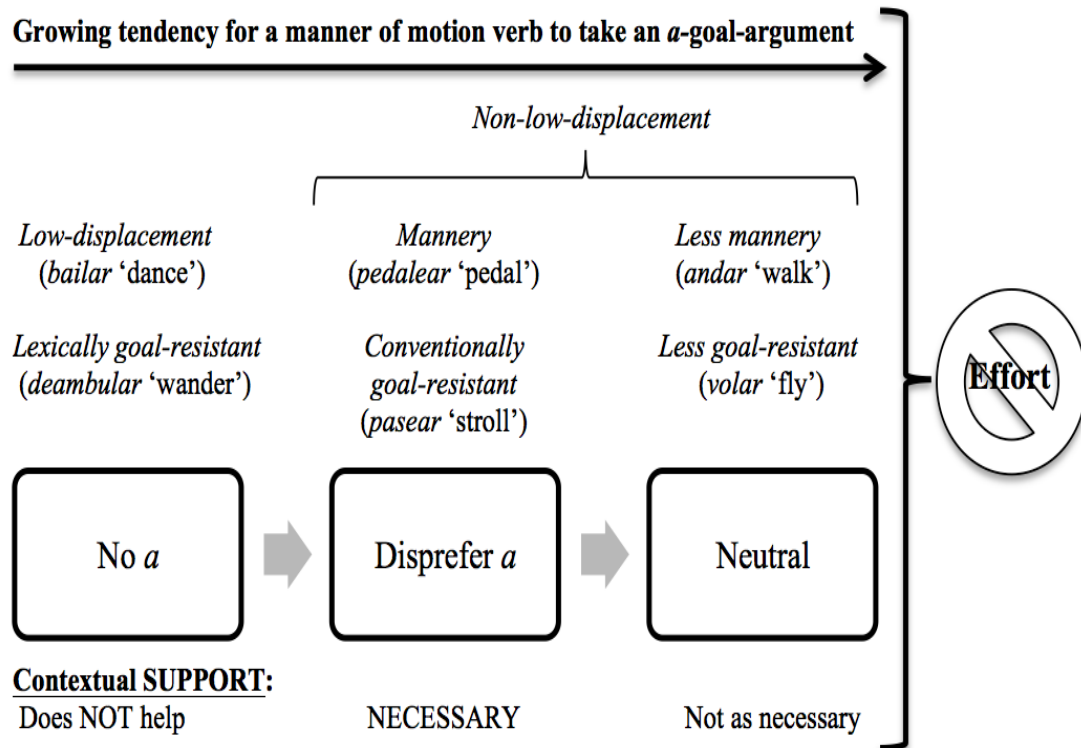


Figure 8.1: Lexical and Contextual Predictions towards Verb Coercion

Chapter 9

Corpus Study

At this point a corpus study becomes useful to verify the prior claims and provide further insight into verb-types according to their degree of displacement, the two main influential factors on coercion (degree of manner and degree of goal-orientedness), and *hasta*'s blocking effect.

Previous studies in Spanish (Martínez-Vázquez 2001, and Pedersen 2010) have looked at corpora to try to analyze the phenomena. Martínez-Vázquez (2001) extracts Spanish examples from CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*) to prove that Spanish shows indeed the English manner + motion construction with manner of motion verbs like *correr* 'run', *nadar* 'swim', *remar* 'row', *rodar* 'roll', and *saltar* 'jump.' Martínez-Vázquez (2001) hypothesizes that this might be due to emphasis reasons that lead to a borrowing process. By emphasis, Martínez-Vázquez claims that the V-framed pattern in Spanish gives "the manner and final element more weight" (Martínez-Vázquez 2001: 55) than the S-framed pattern does in English. For example, if a Spanish speaker wants to convey that 'John danced to the corner', he/she can only do so canonically by saying *Juan fue a la esquina bailando* 'Juan went to the corner dancing', which is believed to place more focus on the manner in contrast to what was intended with the English sentence. Martínez-Vázquez' hypothesis is that the lack in the Spanish system to express manner without making it a focus element might have lead to a borrowing process

from English still in progress. Martínez-Vázquez (2001) states that there is a high influence of English on Spanish, considering the growing contact between both languages in places like in the USA, thus predicting that Spanish will continue evolving in the direction of English. Nonetheless, there is evidence that many other languages (e.g. Basque, French, Italian, Mandarin, Japanese, Korean) (Ibarretxe-Antunãno 2003, Beavers 2008, Beavers *et al.* 2010, Tham *et al.* 2012) show this dual pattern, which cannot be reduced to simply English influence. For this, further explanation is needed on when and why the two types of encoding in a language might occur.

Another recent analysis (Pedersen 2010) examines the behavior of typically discussed manner of motion verbs in literature (e.g. as in Martínez-Vázquez 2001 and Fábregas 2007) with some less frequently discussed verbs with a similar ‘manner of motion’ profile from the *Corpus del Español* (Davies). Pedersen (2010) proposes that the [V a NP]-construction has to be licensed by the lexical meaning of the verb, which he classifies according to the verb’s principal dictionary definition in the monolingual dictionary DUE (*Diccionario de uso del Español*). In this way, in Pedersen’s (2010) study, the verbs are classified depending on whether their definition refers only to an activity whose focus is on manner or means of motion, as opposed to those verbs whose definitions include some sort of reference to moving in space from one place to another. Not only do I believe that this methodology is inappropriate since it relies on the definition found in a specific dictionary, but also I disagree with the final verb classification reached since a manner of motion verb’s degree of directional meaning cannot be quantifiable and it will ultimately depend on context.

All in all, these previous analyses lack in completeness because of the

lack of consistency and predictability from their verb-classification and the need for an analysis of pragmatic variables that will lead to a better understanding.

9.1 Data Collection

The current analysis is based on searches in *Corpus del Español* (Davies, 2012), available online through its web interface. This is a large monolingual corpus of around 100 million words in nearly 14.000 Spanish texts from the 12th to the 20th centuries from both Spain and Latin America. Though it contains oral texts, written texts are dominant in the corpus (75%). They belong to a wide variety of genres: interviews and transcripts, newspapers, magazine texts, and fiction and academic texts. For the purposes of the present study, I restricted the search to any type of text from the 1800s and 1900s.

I searched 26 verbs from my classification in (39) and carried out a total number of six searches per verb (two per each preposition under study here *a/hacia/hasta*). Considering that the corpus is tagged per lemma, an example on how this was conducted is presented in (70) targeting at the verb *volar* ‘fly’:

- (70) (i) *vol * . [V*] a*; (ii) *vol * . [V*] * a*; (iii) *vol * . [V*] hacia*; (iv) *vol * . [V*] * hacia*;
 (v) *vol * . [V*] hasta*; (vi) *vol * . [V*] * hasta*

With the asterisk, *, between the verb and the preposition, I was also accounting for cases in which an adverb may have been inserted in such position. For instance, an example of a sentence extracted by ‘*camín * . [V*] a*’ (for *caminar* ‘walk’) is shown in (71a) and an example of a sentence found through

‘*camin* * . [*V* *] * *a*’ is given in (71b) (both have been shortened for illustrative purposes):

- (71) a. ***Caminé a la estación de trenes cerca de casa.***
 walked at the station of trains near of home
 ‘[I] walked to the train station near home.’
- b. ***Caminó directamente a su objeto.***
 walked directly at his/her object
 ‘[He/she] walked directly to his/her object.’

(Davies Corpus, 2012)

I furthermore tagged each sentence containing a goal XP introduced by *a* or *hasta* according to whether it occurred within some sort of effortful environment in order to support or refute the hypothesis that *hasta* is preferred in such contexts, hence blocking the use of *a*. Additionally, I tagged if the manner of motion verb acquired a non-literal sense in context, so as to provide evidence that a more flexible manner content (i.e. related to a lower degree of manner) will more likely allow for verb coercion.¹

¹Ideally, I could also have tagged for goal-presupposition—i.e. whether a goal had been presupposed in context, thus making the motion event an aimed motion—to support that in such a context the use of a goal-phrase will be facilitated, as suggested by the grammaticality judgments from the constructed examples. Unfortunately, I had to remove this variable after not being able to infer from the first hundred of examples whether the goal had been presupposed because of the limited context provided from the corpus (about 5 lines long), based on which it is not possible to draw any conclusions that deal with discourse. This is left for future study, either with a more context-extensive corpus or with more sophisticated clues for identifying presupposition of a goal.

9.2 Analysis of the Corpus Results, Distributional Patterns & Influential Factors

In this section, I first present the total number of tokens and percentages of sentences that I found in the corpus for each of the possible combinations that conform to the sequence ‘Manner of motion verb + (optional adverb) + *a/hacia/hasta*-goal phrase.’ Table 9.1—from left to right—indicates (i) the verb under study (verbs in bold are lexically or conventionally goal-resistant and/or high in manner), (ii) the total number of tokens in the corpus found within 1800s-1900s, (iii) how many of these tokens were not goal-oriented, (iv) how many of these occurred with a goal XP, (v) how many of the goal-oriented tokens introduced the goal XP by *a*, (vi) how many introduced the goal XP by *hacia*, and (vii) how many by *hasta*. The verbs are ordered—from top to bottom—from lower to higher percentage of goal-oriented sentences within two groups, split by the horizontal line, separating the results of *low-displacement* and *lexically goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs, i.e. verbs that supposedly lexically and thus categorically disfavor *a*, from the rest. The raw number of tokens is shown outside the parenthesis and the approximate percentage inside.

Table 9.1: Tokens and Percentages of Manner of Motion Verb + (adverb) + *a/hacia/hasta*-Goal XP

Verb	Tokens	No-goal	Goal	a	hacia	hasta
Temblar 'tremble'	2010	2010	0	0	0	0
Danzar 'dance'	244	244	0	0	0	0
Deambular 'wander'	131	131	0	0	0	0
Bailar 'dance'	2061	2060	1 (<0.1%)	0	1 (100%)	0
Tropezar 'trip'	881	879	2 (0.2%)	0	0	2 (100%)
Flotar 'float'	865	857	8 (0.9%)	0	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)
Corretear 'run around'	116	114	2 (1.7%)	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
Patinar 'skate'	42	42	0	0	0	0
Esquiar 'ski'	59	59	0	0	0	0
Pasear 'stroll'	2263	2244	19 (0.8%)	15 (79%)	1 (5%)	3 (16%)
Manejar 'drive'	527	522	5 (0.9%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)
Nadar 'swim'	545	534	11 (2%)	1 (9%)	5 (45.5%)	5 (45.5%)
Cojear 'limp'	82	80	2 (2.4%)	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)
Remar 'row'	99	96	3 (3%)	0	3 (100%)	0
Escalar 'climb'	211	203	8 (3.8%)	4 (50%)	1 (12.5%)	3 (37.5%)
Pedalear 'pedal'	24	23	1 (4.2%)	0	0	1 (100%)
Rodar 'roll'	1028	979	49 (4.8%)	15 (31%)	12 (24%)	22 (45%)
Gatear 'crawl'	60	57	3 (5%)	1 (33%)	0	2 (67%)
Saltar 'jump'	3198	3014	184 (5.8%)	144 (78%)	32 (18%)	8 (4%)
Deslizar 'slide'	964	906	58 (6%)	10 (17%)	30 (52%)	18 (31%)
Trotar 'trot'	143	133	10 (7%)	0	9 (90%)	1 (10%)
Volar 'fly'	1923	1785	138 (7.2%)	83 (60%)	43 (31%)	12 (9%)
Correr 'run'	10870	10034	836 (7.7%)	374 (45%)	377 (45%)	85 (10%)
Navegar 'sail'	775	711	64 (8.3%)	16 (25%)	31 (48%)	17 (27%)
Arrastrar 'drag'	3359	3043	316 (9.4%)	152 (48%)	84 (27%)	80 (25%)
Caminar 'walk'	4265	3780	485 (11.4%)	87 (18%)	266 (55%)	132 (27%)

Based on this table, I concentrate on overall goal-usages in relation to the use of *a*, and in the next tables I will focus on *a*-usages in opposition to adjunctive uses, namely *hasta*-phrases. At a first glance, it is clearly noticeable that *non-low-displacement* manner of motion verbs that are less *mannery* and less goal-resistant (not-boldfaced verbs) tend to be lower on the chart

than low-displacement, goal-resistant and/or more *mannery* verbs (boldfaced verbs), which indicates that the former present more uses in goal-oriented environments than the latter, thus predicting, in principle, higher uses of *a*. In this regard, I now have a closer look at the overall behavior of goal-oriented usage and *a*-usage of the different verb types according to their tendency for *a* predicted in Figure 8.1.

First, I focus on the verbs that supposedly lexically reject *a* (these are the ones listed above the horizontal line in Table 9.1). The first lexical factor to take into account is degree of displacement. Our prediction that *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs—i.e. verbs that rarely implicate a path and are consequently placed low on the displacement hierarchy (*temblar* ‘tremble’, *danzar* ‘dance’, *bailar* ‘dance’, *tropezar* ‘trip’ and *flotar* ‘float’)—would not accept an *a*-complement is borne out: no instance was found with an *a*-argument. In fact, the results suggest that these verbs will rarely be used to describe motion to a goal at all, even not adjunctively with *hacia* or *hasta*: a maximum of 0.9% of goal-oriented sentences with *flotar* and <0.3% for the rest of *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs. Thus, the results support our hypothesis that these verbs present lower degrees of displacement because they rarely implicate a path and thus less often participate in goal-oriented environments, from which follows that there is usually no need for them to occur with an expression of a goal. The other two verbs in the list that supposedly lexically and thus categorically rule out *a* and that fall outside *low-displacement* manner of motion verbs are the *lexically goal-resistant* verbs *deambular* ‘wander’ and *corretear* ‘run around.’ The prediction for these is the same: no co-occurrence of the verb with an *a*-argument should in principle be found, consistent with our hypothesis that verbs that lexically disfavor the

notion of a goal will, as a result, be refrained from verb-coercion, and this is indeed borne out. No goal phrase at all was found for the verb *deambular* ‘wander’ and only two adjunctive goal-phrases (but no *a*-phrases) were found for the verb *corretear* ‘run around.’

Next, we find the intermediary group of verbs that do not totally rule out *a* and yet I have suggested that they need more pragmatic support in order to take an *a*-argument (this group includes the verbs in bold under the split line in Table 9.1). These are verbs that overwhelmingly or categorically favor displacement and yet are rich in manner and/or conventionally goal-resistant. Table 9.1 clearly shows that these verbs tend to appear higher on the chart than *low-in-manner* and *neutral* manner of motion verbs with regard to the notion of a goal because they participate in less goal-oriented environments, as expected considering their goal-resistant nature and/or higher degree of manner. For example, even no instances of goal-phrases at all were found in the corpus for the verbs *patinar* ‘skate’ and *esquiar* ‘ski.’ Furthermore, we predicted that verbs from this group are dependent on contextual support to be able to introduce a goal phrase by *a*. This may explain why goal-phrases of verbs from this group, like *remar* ‘row’, *pedalear* ‘pedal’ and *trotar* ‘trot’, were not introduced by *a* in the corpus, but adjunctively by *hacia/hasta*, since there may have not been enough contextual support available for an *a*-complement. Finally, goal-oriented examples from other verbs that fall into this category, like from *pasear* ‘stroll’, *nadar* ‘swim’ and *escalar* ‘climb’, were indeed introduced by *a*, which we predicted to be possible through pragmatic support. For instance, it may strike us as odd that the verb *pasear* ‘stroll’, though having a very low goal-usage, presented a high usage of *a*. However, I believe that this is just a fortuity in the corpus where most of the examples of

pasear+goal-phrase in the corpus received the necessary contextual support, hence allowing *a*, as will be discussed below.

Finally, the last group involves verbs that are neutral with regard to the notion of a goal as well as low in manner. These are verbs that overwhelmingly or categorically favor displacement and are less *mannery* and less goal-resistant. It is expected that these will more often appear in aimed motion events, since less (or no) contextual support is required to enhance a path-type reading. This prediction is also borne out. Overall, higher percentage values of goal-oriented occurrences were found for these verbs: e.g. *volar* ‘fly’, *correr* ‘run’, *navegar* ‘sail’, and *caminar* ‘walk’ are placed lower on the chart, which corresponds to the higher percentages of goal-oriented usage. Furthermore, even though less or no contextual support at all may be necessary for these verbs to introduce a goal phrase by *a*, we cannot ignore that other prepositions in Spanish can introduce a goal-phrase as well, namely *hacia* and *hasta*. Considering this, no direct correlation between the verb’s frequency of taking a goal XP and its frequency to mark this goal XP with *a* can be determined. For instance, the verb *caminar* ‘walk’ is the verb that presents the highest goal-oriented usage in the corpus and yet does not present the highest *a*-usage. In other words, a verb may very frequently participate in goal-oriented environments and yet present low frequencies of *a*-marking. This suggests that it does not all rely on a lexical basis: contextual factors may influence the preposition choice as well, especially between *a* and *hasta*, since these are closer in meaning, both of them indicating arrival at a different location—whereas adjunctive *hacia* is only used for direction and/or orientation.

That said, I analyze apart *a* vs. *hasta* (excluding *hacia*), by also including two new variables: (i) non-literal meaning (in Table 9.2) and (ii) effort

(in Table 9.3). I first present the results that take into account the non-literal variable in Table 9.2.² I propose that another way to look at low degree of manner is to look into non-literal usage as a proxy because in non-literal contexts a verb's manner content fades into the background allowing for more generic motion that requires the specification of a goal. Table 9.2—from left to right—indicates (i) the verb under study (verbs in bold are lexically or conventionally goal-resistant and/or high in manner), (ii) the number of *a*-tokens in the corpus found within 1800s-1900s and its percentage in relation to the total number of *a* plus *hasta* tokens of the verb under study, and (iii) how many of these had a non-literal (vs. literal) meaning. The same applies respectively to the case of *hasta* in the remaining two columns. The verbs are ordered—from top to bottom—from lower to higher percentage of *a* out of the total *a+hasta* phrases of each verb within two groups, split by the horizontal line, separating the results of *low-displacement* and *lexically goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs, i.e. verbs that supposedly lexically and thus categorically disfavor *a*, from the rest. The raw number of tokens is shown outside the parenthesis and the approximate percentage inside.

²I would like to point out that these are based on my own intuitions from what was made explicit to me by the restricted context provided by the corpus. For this, these numbers are only intended to be orientative.

Table 9.2: Choice between *a* & *hasta* & non-literal-tokens

Verb	a		hasta	
	Tokens	Non-literal	Tokens	Non-literal
Temblar 'tremble'	0	0	0	0
Bailar 'dance'	0	0	0	0
Danzar 'dance'	0	0	0	0
Deambular 'wander'	0	0	0	0
Flotar 'float'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Corretear 'run around'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Tropezar 'trip'	0	0	2 (100%)	0
Patinar 'skate'	0	0	0	0
Esquiar 'ski'	0	0	0	0
Remar 'row'	0	0	0	0
Pedalear 'pedal'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Trotar 'trot'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Nadar 'swim'	1 (17%)	0	5 (83%)	0
Gatear 'crawl'	1 (33%)	0	2 (67%)	0
Deslizar 'slide'	10 (36%)	3 (30%)	18 (64%)	1 (5.5 %)
Caminar 'walk'	87 (40%)	29 (33%)	132 (60%)	2 (1.5%)
Rodar 'roll'	15 (41%)	4 (27%)	22 (59%)	7 (32%)
Navegar 'sail'	16 (48%)	0	17 (52%)	0
Cojear 'limp'	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	0
Manejar 'drive'	2 (50%)	0	2 (50%)	0
Escalar 'climb'	4 (57%)	3 (75%)	3 (43%)	3 (100%)
Arrastrar 'drag'	152 (66%)	84 (55%)	80 (34%)	10 (12.5%)
Correr 'run'	374 (81%)	29 (8%)	85 (19%)	0
Pasear 'stroll'	15 (83%)	3 (20%)	3 (17%)	0
Volar 'fly'	83 (87%)	53 (64%)	12 (13%)	6 (50%)
Saltar 'jump'	144 (95%)	31 (22%)	8 (5%)	1 (12.5%)
TOTAL	905 (69.6%)	239 (26.4%)	396 (30.4%)	30 (7.6%)

Interestingly, Table 9.2 shows that in the analyzed corpus the *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs *arrastrar* ‘drag’ and *pasear* ‘stroll’, and the *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verbs *correr* ‘run’, *volar* ‘fly’, and *saltar* ‘jump’ most often occurred in contexts with a preference for *a* over *hasta*. It might be surprising that *pasear* ‘stroll’ is among them since it was classified as a conventionally goal-resistant verb, and, as expected, and

illustrated above in Table 9.1, it seems to have a very low tendency to occur within goal-oriented environments. Moreover, the high frequency of *a* with the verb *arrastrar* ‘drag’ may also catch our attention due to its conventional association with effort. For this, a closer look at the pragmatic variables at play here is indispensable, since, as discussed, context makes a difference.

Based on this table, I concentrate on how the *non-literal*-variable plays a role in the results. A method to look at a verb’s degree of manner content is through an analysis of its non-literal usage as a proxy. Verbs that contain more non-literal meaning are, thus, more semantically bleached. We predicted that a lower degree of manner would favor a path interpretation of a manner of motion verb. A verb’s higher usage within non-literal contexts correlates with a lower degree of specificity of manner since the literal manner content is faded into the background and substituted for, generally, a more generic manner that requires the specification of a goal, hence displacement, or else the meaning may be bleached into vacuity. Based on the results, it is indeed the case that when the manner-content was somehow faded, the choice of *a* over *hasta* was triggered—because for most of the instances with a non-literal meaning, *a* was chosen (26.4% *a*-XPs were non-literal vs. 7.6% *hasta*-XPs). The data in Table 9.2 suggests that verbs that have a more flexible manner-content—in that they may acquire non-literal senses in context—are verbs like *escalar* ‘climb’, *volar* ‘fly’, *arrastrar* ‘drag’, *caminar* ‘walk’, and *saltar* ‘jump.’ These verbs are precisely the verbs of higher *a*-frequencies from the results. Observe the data in (72), in which the verb *volar* ‘fly’ has lost its literal meaning and acquires a more generic meaning, a sense of fast motion:

(72) [In the sense of moving fast, not actually ‘flying’]

Averiguó lo de Coloños, voló a casa de Juanguirle
found.out it of Coloños, flew at house of Juanguirle

‘[He/she] found out about Coloños, and flew to Juanguirle’s house.’

(Davies Corpus, 2012)

In fact, many examples of *volar* + *a* in the sense of ‘going fast to some place’ were found throughout the corpus search. This hints that most of the times these verbs of higher *a*-frequencies are used together with a specification of a goal, they may no longer hold their rich manner content. This being said, if we consider the 55% of non-literal meaning of the verb *arrastrar* ‘drag’, it is now not as surprising that this verb of, theoretically, an effortful manner is among the verbs with higher *a*-frequencies (66% of *a*). *Arrastrar* ‘drag’ seems to also be among the verbs that are more permissive as to what manners they allow. For example, many examples of *arrastrar* ‘drag’ were found figuratively making reference to dragging oneself to oneself’s own decadence/death/ruin, where the specific manner of motion is lost and, as such, coercion may be facilitated. In (73), the sentence did not literally mean that the figure actually did drag himself reaching the narrator’s feet, rather that he showed up in a very submissive attitude at the narrator’s predisposition:

(73) *vino sumiso a arrastrarse a mis pies*
came submissive at drag.himself at my feet

‘[He] submissively came to drag himself to my feet.’

(Davies Corpus, 2012)

This flexibility in the manner content of a verb, which correlates with a higher usage of *a*, is intrinsically related to our hypothesis that lower degrees of manner (which includes permissive/non-literal manner) facilitate the transition to a goal and, as a consequence, the shift of category from a manner of motion verb to a path-type verb.

With regard to another unexpected behavior of a verb situated among the higher *a*-frequencies is the behavior of the *conventionally goal-resistant* manner of motion verb *pasear* ‘stroll.’ According to the results, this verb can also present non-literal uses, which suggests that its manner content does not involve high degrees of specificity of manner, which may have facilitated verb coercion, at least in the non-literal contexts. Note the following example in (74) extracted from the corpus, where the verb *pasear* ‘stroll’ does no longer specifically refer to a way of walking but to a way of driving around, suggesting that the verb *pasear* ‘stroll’ has, to a certain extent, a flexible manner-content:

- (74) [...] *era para uno* [...] *una cosa estupenda* [...] *que lo llevaran*
 [...] was for one [...] a thing great [...] that him took
 a pasear a Petare en camioneta
 at stroll at Petare in bus
 ‘It was great to be taken to stroll to Petare by bus.’

(Davies Corpus, 2012)

Furthermore, considering its goal-resistant nature, it would have also been really helpful to have had the right tools (e.g. an extensive context) to detect whether a goal had been presupposed, hence suppressing its goal-resistance. For example, even though there is no explicit presupposition of a goal in the context given by the corpus, I believe that the repetitive flavor of the motion

event in (75), where the narrator explains an action that occurs on a regular basis, may have enhanced aimed motion for the *conventionally goal-resistant* manner of motion verb *pasear* ‘stroll’:

- (75) *El kaliba, con su albornoz blanco, se pasea a la puerta*
the kaliba, with his dressing.gown white, CL strolls at the door
de su casa de barro
of his house of clay
‘The Kaliba, in his white dressing gown, strolls to the door of his house of clay.’

(Davies Corpus, 2012)

Therefore, the fact that its manner content can be stretched to embrace more uses or generic manners, as in (74), and examples of its use in the corpus where a goal has in some way been facilitated, as in (75), may have placed *pasear* ‘stroll’ at the higher *a*-frequencies.

Finally, *saltar* ‘jump’ was the verb that participated in the most contexts that favored *a* (95%) over *hasta* (5%), and thus it deserves our special attention. Lexically, *saltar* is an *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verb, if we only consider the x+y axes, since it is possible to jump in place (*saltar sin desplazarse*). If we consider also the z axis, *saltar* ‘jump’ is placed even higher on the displacement hierarchy, becoming a *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verb. Furthermore, *saltar* ‘jump’ is not of a goal-resistant nature since it does not resist the notion of a goal. In other words, it is easy to think of naturally occurring contexts in which by jumping a goal is intended to be reached, which may strongly favor the presupposition of a goal, following Jones (1996). In this regard, I believe that another favoring factor specific of

the verb *saltar* is that its meaning usually involves short paths carried out in a sudden and quick manner, which may facilitate a transition to a goal (low effort). Last, based on the results, its manner content seems to be malleable being able to participate in metaphorical contexts where the literal manner has been bleached and hence an overt specification of a goal is expected so as to provide a complete meaning to the sentence. Thus, *saltar* seems to have all the helping factors in its favor, which, in conjunction, may have put *saltar* ‘jump’ at the bottom of the list in Table 9.2, as the manner of motion verb most favoring *a* in relation to *hasta* in the corpus.

However, in addition to context favoring an *a*-goal interpretation, we predicted that it can also block such a reading because of the presence of *hasta*, which is favored in effortful environments. In order to support or reject this hypothesis, Table 9.3—from left to right—indicates (i) the verb under study (verbs in bold are lexically or conventionally goal-resistant and/or high in manner), (ii) the number of *a*-tokens in the corpus found within 1800s-1900s and its percentage in relation to the total number of *a* plus *hasta* tokens of the verb under study, and (iii) how many of these tokens showed in an overtly effortful environment.³ The same applies respectively to the case of *hasta* in the remaining two columns. The verbs are ordered—from top to bottom—from lower to higher percentage of *a* out of the total *a+hasta* phrases of each verb within two groups, split by the horizontal line, separating the results of *low-displacement* and *lexically goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs, i.e. verbs

³I would like to point out that these are based on my own intuitions from what was made explicit to me by the restricted context provided by the corpus. For this, these numbers are only intended to be orientative. For example, I believe that more *hasta*-sentences may have had an effort flavor associated to them, but I only tagged those where it was somehow made explicit in words.

that supposedly lexically and thus categorically disfavor *a*, from the rest. The raw number of tokens is shown outside the parenthesis and the approximate percentage inside.

Table 9.3: Choice between *a* & *hasta* & effortful-tokens

Verb	a		hasta	
	Tokens	Non-literal	Tokens	Non-literal
Temblar 'tremble'	0	0	0	0
Bailar 'dance'	0	0	0	0
Danzar 'dance'	0	0	0	0
Deambular 'wander'	0	0	0	0
Flotar 'float'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Corretear 'run around'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Tropezar 'trip'	0	0	2 (100%)	0
Patinar 'skate'	0	0	0	0
Esquiar 'ski'	0	0	0	0
Remar 'row'	0	0	0	0
Pedalear 'pedal'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Trotar 'trot'	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Nadar 'swim'	1 (17%)	0	5 (83%)	0
Gatear 'crawl'	1 (33%)	0	2 (67%)	0
Deslizar 'slide'	10 (36%)	3 (30%)	18 (64%)	1 (5.5 %)
Caminar 'walk'	87 (40%)	29 (33%)	132 (60%)	2 (1.5%)
Rodar 'roll'	15 (41%)	4 (27%)	22 (59%)	7 (32%)
Navegar 'sail'	16 (48%)	0	17 (52%)	0
Cojear 'limp'	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	0
Manejar 'drive'	2 (50%)	0	2 (50%)	0
Escalar 'climb'	4 (57%)	3 (75%)	3 (43%)	3 (100%)
Arrastrar 'drag'	152 (66%)	84 (55%)	80 (34%)	10 (12.5%)
Correr 'run'	374 (81%)	29 (8%)	85 (19%)	0
Pasear 'stroll'	15 (83%)	3 (20%)	3 (17%)	0
Volar 'fly'	83 (87%)	53 (64%)	12 (13%)	6 (50%)
Saltar 'jump'	144 (95%)	31 (22%)	8 (5%)	1 (12.5%)
TOTAL	905 (69.6%)	239 (26.4%)	396 (30.4%)	30 (7.6%)

As far as effort is concerned, the prediction was that *hasta* is favored in contexts involving effort, thus blocking the use of *a* under such circumstances.

It is indeed borne out that *hasta* is preferred within effortful environments (11.4% of *hasta*-XPs involved explicit effort vs. 1.4% of *a*-XPs). Note the following example of the manner of motion verb *caminar* ‘walk’ in (76): *caminar* ‘walk’ is a neutral manner of motion verb that in principle would not oppose the use of *a*, but the fact that in this context it is made explicit that effort is required to successfully perform the walking motion event may have triggered the use of *hasta*:

(76) [Contextual effort]

*Me sentía cansado, **caminé hasta** el puerto*
 me felt tired, walked until the harbor

‘[I] felt tired, [I] walked up to the harbor.’

(Davies Corpus, 2012)

Hence, examples like (76) in the corpus support our hypothesis that *hasta* is the preferred option whenever any sort of effort is required to reach the goal. This effort could be imposed by a long path, a costly manner of motion, or by other external contextual forces (like fatigue in (76)) that make the motion event more costly. Note however that *a* may still occur in an effortful context, as in (77) with the verb *arrastrar* ‘drag’, which is further evidence that this is not a condition encoded lexically: it is only due to a preference for *hasta* that *a*, at a first glance, may seem not to be able to co-occur with effort.

(77) [Contextual effort]

[...] *logró, sin embargo, **arrastrarse a** la entrada del*
[...] achieved, however, drag.herself at the entrance of.the
subterráneo y penetrar hasta el fondo
underground.room and penetrate until the end

‘[She] achieved, however, to drag herself to the entrance of the underground room and penetrate up to the end.’

(Davies Corpus, 2012)

All in all, the corpus study provided supporting evidence that *overwhelming-displacement* manner of motion verbs and *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs may be coerced into path-type verbs that select for an *a*-argument whenever two main favoring factors are at play: low degree of manner and low degree of goal-resistance, unless some sort of effort interferes blocking the use of *a*, conforming to our predictions for verb-coercion in Figure 8.1. The corpus analysis furthermore suggested that some verbs’ manner content can be faded in the background by being used in non-literal contexts, from which follows that non-literal manner loses its specificity behaving as a verb with a lower degree of manner, which enhances the use of *a* to complete its meaning. Finally, though it could not be tested from the corpus (but with grammatical judgements), it is also to be expected that the presupposition of a goal, especially needed for those verbs that seem to conventionally resist the notion of a goal—as with the case of *pasear* ‘stroll’—will facilitate the use of *a* since such presuppositions would cancel out their usually associated goal-resistant motion.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

I proposed a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic account of what manner of motion verbs in Spanish allow for a goal XP complement introduced by the preposition *a* ‘at’, and what pragmatic conditions trigger/disfavor such use over adjunct phrases introduced by *hacia* ‘towards’/*hasta* ‘until’, which may as well express direction/goal in the environment of a motion verb.

I have shown that any syntactic analysis that relies on certain features (‘Process’, ‘Place’ and ‘Path’) being already lexicalized and introduced in the syntax to explain motion verb constructions in a V-framed language lacks in consistency because it treats goal-prepositions as having the same grammatical relations and distributions. I show instead that the prepositions *a*, *hacia*, and *hasta* are of different semantic nature and maintain different grammatical relations even though they may appear to be alternate ways of denoting the same ‘thing’ in directed motion events, i.e. a goal of motion, when certain syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic variables come into play.

I furthermore demonstrate that the Talmyan typology is essentially right but it does not allow for intermediacy. For this, I propose a four-way distinction of motion verbs according to their degree of displacement: 1) verbs that allow ‘in-place’, 2) verbs that overwhelmingly favor displacement, 3) verbs that categorically favor displacement, and 4) inherently directed motion verbs. 1) and 4) conform to the classic Talmyan Typology of motion events. However,

under certain semantic and pragmatic circumstances (e.g. low degree of manner and low degree of goal-resistance), 2) and 3) may be coerced into path-type verbs that select an *a*-complement phrase. The nature of coercion emerges from a prototypicality effect: only those verbs that encode a path categorically or that are more prototypical to describe a path are able to be coerced into *inherently-directed* motion verbs to express the end point of such a path—unless they are lexically goal-resistant. However, context has also a crucial impact since the operation of coercion is contingent on pragmatics, in addition to lexical semantics. Pragmatics also needs to favor the transition to a goal, e.g. by (i) fading the literal manner component and/or (ii) presupposing the goal—because only then the purpose of using a manner of motion verb overlaps with the function of a path-type verb. Moreover, because of the existence of *hasta* in Spanish, another contextual constraint needs to be considered: the context must be effort-free, since otherwise the use of *hasta* is favored, blocking the use of *a*. Finally, this analysis explains that whenever coercion occurs, only locative prepositions that can serve as argument markers can potentially introduce goal arguments—unlike other locative prepositions in Spanish, such as *en* ‘in’—because of the nature of coercion.

As far as the corpus study is concerned, frequency results indicate that manner of motion verbs are, in general, rarely used to express goal. Nonetheless, as predicted, *overwhelming-displacement* and *categorical-displacement* manner of motion verbs in the language (e.g. *saltar* ‘jump’, *correr* ‘run’, *caminar* ‘walk’, *arrastrar* ‘drag’, *volar* ‘fly’ and *pasear* ‘stroll’) are able to take *a* to introduce the goal phrase, as opposed to *low-displacement* and *lexically goal-resistant* manner of motion verbs. Among these that can take *a*, less mannery and less goal-resistant verbs, like *volar* ‘fly’ and *saltar* ‘jump’, will be able to

accept an *a*-argument more easily, i.e. with less pragmatic support, and hence present higher *a*-frequency values. If we analyze these cases qualitatively, we realize that these verbs may also allow for more generic/flexible manner of motion readings in figurative contexts, which confirms our hypothesis that lower degrees of specificity of manner may incite the transition to a goal, and, as a result, the alternation of encoding. The corpus results additionally supported the hypothesis that *hasta* is favored in effortful environments, thus blocking the use of *a* in such contexts. A next step will be running a test on the results for statistical significance.

All in all, this study provides further evidence that in motion event encoding it is not possible to generalize typologically how the motion verbs in a type of language or another will behave depending only on the morphological and morphosyntactic inventory of such a language. It may be true that the resources of a particular language (such as the presence of adjunctive *hacia* and *hasta* in Spanish) make the language lean towards one type of encoding or the other (i.e. V-framed or S-framed encoding) and yet pragmatics cannot be ignored. In principle, for the case of Spanish (a V-framed language), if the right contextual variables factor in, the language allows for encoding alternation: a manner of motion verb can be coerced into a path-type verb, there being different degrees as to how easily a manner of motion verb will tolerate such alternation. This calls for further analysis of similar pragmatic variables in other V-framed languages from a cross-linguistic perspective to better understand what lexical and contextual factors draw the line between manner and path verbs in motion event encoding.

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